

INDIAN CULTURE

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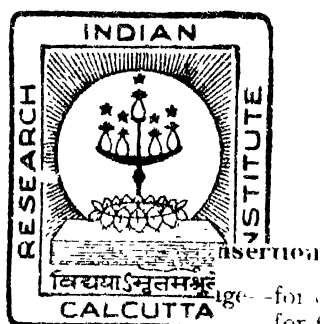
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SUCCESSORS OF IKHTYARUDDIN MUHAMMAD BAKHTYAR KHALJI

By ABDUL MAJED KHAN

Izzuddin Muhammad
Sheran Khalji, 1206-1207
A.D.

After the death of Bakhtyar Khalji one of his lieutenants, Izzuddin Muhammad Sheran Khalji¹ succeeded him to the chieftdom of the Khalji oligarchy in Bengal. Before being formally installed in power, Muhammad Sheran proceeded immediately after performing the mourning ceremonies to Narkoti² and placed Ali Mardan Khalji, the Muqti of Narkoti under arrest and committed him to the custody of the Kotwal of the place.³ On return to Devkot he was unanimously elected by the Khalji nobles as their Chief. He confirmed the Khalji Amirs in their respective posts which they had been holding under Bakhtyar and thereby reconciled them.

Suppression of Ali Mardan had no undesirable reaction on the Khalji Amirs who approved Muhammad Sheran's action by their silence in the matter. Possibly the popular belief that Bakhtyar was done to death by Ali had antagonized them towards the latter. Thus the suppression of Ali not only removed a potential rival from his way, but it also made him popular as the avenger of Bakhtyar's murder. In commissioning Muhammad Sheran to take up the task of raiding the powerful Hindu States of Orissa and Sena Bengal while he himself took up an equally important task in the North-East, Bakhtyar might have indicated his nomination of Muhammad Sheran as his successor. As the events of his career show, succession of Muhammad Sheran was welcomed by all with the possible exception of Ali Mardan and his partisans.

Muhammad Sheran, however, made a mistake in dealing leniently with Ali Mardan. The latter was imprisoned at Narkoti

¹ His name was Muhammad Sheran Khalji, though Raveiran takes it into Muhammad-i-Sheran Khalji. Izzuddin was possibly the title he assumed after becoming the Chief of the Khalji dominion.

² Variant Narangoe. It cannot be accurately identified. Could it not be Natore in Rajshahi district, the ancient name of which was Natari (DUHB, I, 20)? There is some sort of phonetic resemblance between Natari and Narkoti. There was a time when the Karatoya joined the Atrai and flowed through the Chalan Beel into the Gnegs. Natore is not far off from the Atrai. It may be that it was an out-post on the extreme eastern frontier bounded by the Karatoya and the Atrai.

³ The name of the Kotwal has been given as بابا محمد علی (Text, 157); but it is hardly a Muslim proper name.

where he was lately the Muqti and had partisans among the officials. He took advantage of this mistake of Muhammad Sheran and escaped from the custody of the Kotwal by questionable means and arrived at Dihli. On a representation made by Ali to Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak, Kaemaz Rumi, was ordered from Oudh to go to Bengal to settle the Khalji Amirs in Bengal.¹ •

At Gangautry² Kaemaz was welcomed by Husamuddin Iwaz Khalji who had been the Muqti of the place since Bakhtyar's time. Iwaz accompanied Kaemaz to Devkot, the capital of then Muslim Bengal and at the suggestion of Kaemaz became the Muqti of Devkot. Devkot being the capital of the Khalji dominion Iwaz's becoming its Muqti meant his becoming the Chief of Bengal. This again meant the supersession of the elected Chief, Muhammad Sheran. The Khaljis in a body resented this and they gathered round Muhammad Sheran and threatened to fall upon Iwaz as soon as Kaemaz had started back for Oudh. The news made Kaemaz to turn back and give a battle to the Khaljis in which the latter were defeated and made to retreat. While the defeated Khaljis were retreating towards Santos and Masidah³ there arose an internal scuffle in which Muhammad Sheran was killed.

Muhammad Sheran ruled for eight months and was succeeded by Husamuddin Iwaz towards the close of 603 H. (1207).⁴

¹ The Text has امرای خلیج را ساکی گردید (p. 158) which has been translated by Raverty as 'to locate the Khalji Amirs' The sentence cannot possibly be made to mean other than what is given above

² Variants—Kankuri or Gangkuri, Gaskuri or Kaskuri and Kankturi

Stewart calls it Gangautri and Thomas has accepted the name (JRAS, 1873, 345). A probable identification with Mahal Gankarah in Sarkar Tanda may be made (A.A., Tr. III, 130).

³ Masidah and Santosh, as they should be properly called, lie in adjacent Parganas south-east of Devkot in Dinajpur district. Santosh is now represented by Mahiganj on the eastern bank of the Atrai river.

⁴ The nearly contemporary authority Minhaj and the later authorities like Nizamuddin and Ferishtah are silent about the period. In the absence of any definite statement of the above authorities we have in this case to accept the statement in the Riyaz-us-Saltanatin, according to which Sheran is said to have ruled for eight months. What the source might have been its source of information, Riyaz seems to be correct with regard to this point. Raverty, however, is not prepared to accept such a state of things as that would mean a long absence of any ruler in Bengal. His objection is based upon a misconception about the significance of Iwaz's appointment as ruler of Devkot. He admits that Devkot was the capital of the period under discussion (p. 574, fn. 7) but still he fails to understand the significance of Iwaz's appointment thereat. It was not a question of Iwaz's transfer from his original charge at Gangautri to Devkot, as the latter place was the Headquarters of the province. Though Minhaj is not explicit that Iwaz was made the Viceroy, his appointment as the Chief at the Capital city means nothing other than that. As noticed by Raverty, NILAKANTH both our author Minhaj and other writers in men-

In 1207 A.D. Husamuddin Iwaz Khalji the former chief of the outpost of Gangautry was made the Viceroy of Bengal¹ in place of Izzuddin Muhammad Sheran, who was deposed by the Commander of the Imperial Expeditionary Forces. When the position of Iwaz was threatened by Muhammad Sheran, Kaemaz, the Imperial General, gave a fight and defeated Muhammad Sheran. After the death of Muhammad Sheran which took place soon after his defeat, there was practically no opposition to Iwaz. He continued to rule as the Viceroy of Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak, till the latter appointed Ali Mardan Khalji as the Viceroy of Bengal in 1209/10 A.D. (606 H.).²

Ali Mardan Khalji was appointed by Sultan Qutbuddin Aibak as the Viceroy of Bengal in 606 H. (1209/10 A.D.). On his arrival in Bengal as Viceroy designate he was received by then Viceroy Husamuddin Iwaz on the banks of the Kosi river and was conducted

Husamuddin Iwaz Khalji,
1207-1209/10 A.D.

Alauddin Ali Mardan Khalji,
1209/10-1216 A.D.

tioning the escape of Ali-i-Mardan in their accounts of Muhammad-i-Sheran make it appear that Ali-i-Mardan succeeded *at once* to prevail upon the Sultan of Dihli to send his general to intervene' (p 575, fn. 9) It was quite probable. The Sultan had no knowledge or rather could get no information in those days of lack of communications with regard to the actual state of things in Bengal. Nor had he any means to know the antecedent of Ali Mardan so as to disbelieve him. It was, therefore, quite natural for the Sultan to believe the story of alleged misgovernment in Bengal and order his general to make a judicious redistribution of lands among the Khalji Amirs. It is to be noted in this connection that the Sultan did not probably intend the action that was taken by Kaemaz in Bengal, which instead of remedying the alleged misgovernment and making the Khalji Amirs satisfied with proper redistribution of lands, made them all hostile. It is held by Raverty that Kaemaz was sent to Bengal immediately before Ali Mardan's appointment as Viceroy in Bengal. Ali Mardan was appointed in 606 H. (1209/10 A.D.) Now, if as held by Raverty, Kaemaz was sent to Bengal just before Ali Mardan's appointment as Viceroy could we not expect Kaemaz instead of Iwaz making over the charge of the Province to Ali? If Iwaz was not the Viceroy, Bengal must be presumed to have gone without any ruler for the period from the departure of Kaemaz from Bengal and arrival of Ali Mardan to resume his new post. But, this is a hardly believable story. If then Iwaz was in charge of the province for a short period, nothing stood in his way to continue for a longer period of about three years. In the circumstances, it is hardly necessary to prolong the period of Muhammad Sheran's rule while weight of evidence and good reason go in favour of what has been stated above.

¹ Muqti of Devkot at this time meant ruler of the Muslim dominion in Bengal.

² Ali Mardan's appointment could not have taken place before 606 H. Aibak escaped from Ghazna and came to Lahore towards the close of 605 H. The escape or release of Ali Mardan from the captivity of Yalduz and arrival at Lahore happened sometime afterwards. On arrival at Lahore Ali Mardan was appointed as the Viceroy of Bengal, possibly as a reward for the troubles he suffered for the Sultan's cause. The appointment of Ali Mardan could not be dated later than 606 H. either, as in 607 H. when the Sultan died, Ali is known to have ruled in Bengal for some time. (See Raverty, T.N. Tr., p. 526, fn. 8, and 528).

to the capital at Devkot. At Devkot Iwaz made over the charge of the government to the new Viceroy who soon brought the whole of the Khalji dominion in Bengal and Bihar under his rigid control.

Ali is known to have begun his career as a supporter of Bakhtyar Khalji and when the latter had founded a dominion in Bengal and Bihar, he was made the lord of the outpost of Narkoti. After the disastrous defeat and retreat of Bakhtyar from Kamarupa campaign, Bakhtyar came to Devkot and fell ill. Ali Mardan came away from Narkoti to Devkot and is said to have killed his master. An abler man appeared in the person of Izzuddin Muhammad Sheran Khalji to succeed Bakhtyar who exploited the popular suspicion on Ali Mardan and put him to prison and thus gained popularity and ultimately became the recognized chief of the Khalji dominion. Ali, however, managed to escape and reach the capital of the Sultan of Dihli and prevailed upon the Sultan to send an army to intervene in the matters of Bengal. Ali, however, chose to stay at Dihli and later accompany the Sultan in the latter's invasion of Ghazna. When after forty days' rule in Ghazna Aibak fled back to Lahore, Ali fell a captive in the hands of Yalduz. He, however, managed to rejoin Aibak at Lahore in 606 H. who rewarded him with the appointment as Viceroy of Bengal for his sufferings in the cause of the Sultan.

Soon the rebellious or rather the treacherous nature in Ali began to assert itself and he took advantage of Aibak's death in 607 H. (1210 A.D.) and the weakness of his successor to assert his own independence. Ali assumed the title of Alaaddin. With the assumption of independence his vanity also rose to an unlimited extent.¹ He began to persecute the Khaljis, possibly to avenge his old grudge against them, who had supported Muhammad Sheran and in fact many leading Khalji nobles lost their lives due to his vindictiveness. Vain, cruel and unscrupulous as he was he would not tolerate any good advice and nobody dared giving him any. His cruelty and persecution at last drove a number of Khalji Amirs to conspire against his life and he was ultimately killed in 613 H. 1216 A.D.

A story ⁱⁿ narrated in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* referring to him as proposing to kill Yalduz while accompanying the latter on a hunting expedition amply proves the treacherous nature of the man.

¹ A story is narrated in the T. N. that Ali granted Sfahan as a fief to an indigent merchant. He was not the solitary example of his vanity. He used to grant lands outside his dominion, but when reminded that the fiefs granted were not in his dominion he would say that he would soon conquer them. Nobody dared argue with him.

Ali Mardan ruled ingloriously for about seven years from 606 H. to 613 H. (1209/10 to 1216 A.D.).¹

After the assassination of Ali Mardan Khalji in 1216 A.D., the Khalji nobles elected Husamuddin Iwaz as their Chief.² Like Bakhtyar, Iwaz was also an inhabitant of Garmsir in Ghur and

Ghyasuddin Iwaz Khalji,
1216-1227 A.D.

had come to Hindusthan to seek his fortune. He served his apprenticeship as lord of the outpost of Gangautry both under Bakhtyar and Sheran and had later become the Viceroy of Bengal under Qutbuddin Aibak for three years from 1207 to 1209/10 A.D. Iwaz on his election to the chieftdom assumed the title of Ghyasuddin in preference to his former name Husamuddin.

The first task that drew his attention was to change the capital from Devkot to Lakhnauti where it was first established by Bakhtyar. The capital was defended by a fort that he built at Basankot near Lakhnauti.

In June, 1220 A.D. Iwaz got the investiture of the then Caliph of Baghdad confirming him in his dominion and giving a religious sanctity to his rule. On the 2nd June, 1223, a second patent of investiture arrived from the Caliph and a third envoy came from the Caliph in June, 1224. These events, though not mentioned in the Chronicle of Dihli, have been gleaned from the numismatic sources, and have been commemorated by special issues of coins.

¹ Minhaj says that Ali Mardan ruled for 'two years or more or less' and he is not definite. It is certain that Ali Mardan became the ruler of Bengal in 606 H. and that his immediate successor was Iwaz Khalji. Iwaz is known to have died in 624 H. after a reign of 'twelve years'. Minhaj and all later authorities are certain about twelve years' reign of Iwaz. Minhaj is fairly detailed in his accounts of the reign of Iwaz whose works and monuments the chronicler found in 641 H. during his visit in Bengal. In the circumstances we are to accept the definite statement 'twelve years' of Iwaz's reign as against the uncertain statement about Ali's period of rule. Counting back twelve years from 624 H. we arrive at 613 H. as the initial year of Iwaz's reign and also the last year of the rule of his predecessor, Ali. There is, however, a point which may be raised against this conclusion that the Imanzadah of Firuzkoh who arrived in Hindusthan in 608 H. found Iwaz ruling on his arrival at Lakhnauti. But the point is that Minhaj does not say how long the Imanzadah lived at Dihli. Maybe it was for five years or more that he lived at Dihli after which he came to Bengal. (Text 161-62)

² Though not stated in the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri it may be reasonably held that Iwaz was the leader of the popular revolution against the cruel persecutor Ali Mardan. Similar incident took place in Bengal about three centuries later which brought Hussain Shah to the throne. Iwaz's rule for three years as Viceroy has not unfortunately been specially noticed by Minhaj. From what we know of the record of Iwaz's achievement as King we may reasonably presume that his government as Viceroy was so successful that he had endeared himself to the Khaljis by his actions, so that he was deemed the fittest person to rule when Ali Mardan was assassinated.

Iwaz was the first Muslim ruler in India to have secured the Caliph's investiture and he was soon followed by his antagonist of Dihli, Iltutmish.¹

In 1225 A.D. Bengal was invaded by Sultan Iltutmish of Dihli. Iwaz rose to the occasion and blocked the way of the invading army by a strong navy. A peace was patched up. Whether or not any fight took place between the opposing armies is not recorded in the chronicles of Dihli and this silence leads to the irresistible conclusion that the Dihli army could not fare well in the contest that took place.

Hence the claim that Iwaz agreed to surrender his sovereignty is a mere exaggeration of the Court chronicler. The invading army could only occupy a part of South Bihar which Iltutmish placed under his governor, Malik Alaaddin Jani, but the latter was driven out and the lost territories were recovered as soon as Iltutmish returned to Dihli.²

¹ The earliest known coin of Iwaz is dated 616 H. (1219 A.D.) with the legend '*Sultan-ul-Muazzam* Ghiyasudduniya wa-ddin Abdul Fath Iwaz Bin Al-Hussain', and with the inscription '*Nasir Amirul Momenin*' signifying obedience to the Caliph whoever he might have been. It may also be noted that there is existence of a coin of Iwaz (JASB, 1929 NS, 27) which bears the date 19th Safar, 616 H. (6th May, 1219 A.D.) Since we have no knowledge of coins being minted in Bengal earlier than 616 H. we may explain this date as that of establishment of the Bengal mint by Iwaz and also the beginning of Bengal coinage. In 617 H. (1220 A.D.) besides an issue of the type of the previous year there appeared two more new types of coins, bearing the title '*Sultan-ul-Azam*' and the Caliph definitely named as '*An Nasir-le-Dinillah*', of which one type had the name of the month '*Rabi-ul-Akhir*' (June, 1220 A.D.) specially mentioned. These two types continued with modifications in the legend till 620 H. (1223 A.D.) and in 621 H. (1224 A.D.) the special issue bears the name of '*Jamadi-ul-Akhir*' (June, 1224 A.D.) The Christian equivalent month of June is rather significant and it is the proper time for arrival of Caliph's patent by the sea. Hence the suggestion of Thomas that these months were the dates of arrivals of Caliph's envoys rather than the dates of granting the patents at Baghdad, is correct. Iwaz had no chronicler of his own and whatever we get about him from literary sources is from the chronicles of Dihli. Hence though the fact of Caliph's investiture is not recorded in the T.N., we can safely rely on the numismatic evidence and conclude that in June, 1220 and 1224, Iwaz got the patents of the Caliph. For coins of Iwaz see JASB, 1873, 354-58; *ibid.*, 1881, 57-67; JRAS, 1873, 352-58; Wright, I.M.C., II, 145-6*; Botham, Shillong Cab. (1930 Ed.), 133; JASB, 1929 (N.S.); 27, pl. III, No. 3.

N.B.—'*Sultan-ul-Muazzam*' is read by Wright in a coin dated 620 H. There seems to be a mistake in the reading of the date. Iwaz was already a '*Sultan-ul-Azam*' in 617 H. Hence the date should be read as 616 H. as is done by Thomas and Hoernle.

² This brings in a discussion whether Iwaz was ever a vassal of Dihli. Edward Thomas in his Initial Coinage, pt. II held that the coins of Iltutmish, dated 414 H. and 416 H. examined and described by him were in fact issued by Iwaz from Bengal mint. (JRAS, 1873.) He arrived at the conclusion more from his preconceived notion than possibly from the nature of the metal and execution of the coins. Hoernle

Iwaz is said to have exacted tribute from Tirhut, which was then an independent Hindu State with its capital at Simarampura or modern Simraon.¹ The war against Jainagar was fought between 1216 and 1224 A.D., possibly after 1219/20 in which both the Orissan king Anangabhima III of the Ganga dynasty and Iwaz claimed victory.² He further fought the Sena kings of Eastern Bengal with varied success.³ The Kamarupa campaign of Iwaz took

ascribes Thomas's conclusion to the fact that these coins were found along with those of undoubtedly Bengal mint. He noticed a coin of Iltutmish from Bengal mint with the express mention of the mint name 'Lakhnauti' and is right when he says that the coins of Iltutmish without any mint name should be taken as Delhi issues. Coins of Iwaz also do not mention any mint name and should be taken as issued from Lakhnauti mint (JASB, 1881, 53ff.).

Difficulty arises with regard to a unique gold coin dated 616 H. with the inscription ضرب مكر which has been read by Thomas as 'struck at Gaur'. Hodivala is of opinion that it was issued from Nagore (Studies, 212-13). Wright was probably correct to place the mint of this coin near Jodhpur in Rajputana (IMC, II, Intr. 6) though he has subsequently retraced his steps in his 'Coins and Metrology' and has supported Thomas. The unique character of the coin makes any conclusion by itself impossible. Iltutmish came to the throne by ousting Aram Shah, who is supposed to have been a son of Aibak (Raverty, 529, fn. 4). He had an equal claim to the Muizzi legacy as those of his rivals Kabacha and Yaldez. Iltutmish was engaged with them till he finally crushed them in 614 H. Immediately afterwards in 614-5 H. he was faced with Mongol menace. It was from 616 H. that the position of Iltutmish began to improve. And in this 616 H. Iwaz is known to have issued his own coins. It is impossible to believe that Iwaz submitted to the authority of Iltutmish when his position was weak and declared his independence when his Delhi contemporary was becoming stronger.

Bengal was practically independent since the death of Aibak when Ali assumed the title of Alauddin and began to rule as an independent Sultan. Iwaz was never nominated to succeed Ali. He was chosen by the Khalji Amirs who had been possibly satisfied with his rule on the previous occasion.

We found Iwaz obedient to Aibak, possibly because he was the nominee of his master Muhammad-Bin-Sam. Iltutmish was one of the Qutbi servants and had no right to claim obedience from Iwaz except by force of arms. In the accounts of Minhaj we never come across with the word 'rebel' or 'rebellion' applied to Iwaz. On the contrary we have the terms بادشاہ لکھنؤ King of Lakhnauti applied to him (Text, 162).

¹ For History of the Hindu Kingdom of Tirhut see JASB, 1915, 407ff.

² There are different versions in the Text. According to the version of the Printed Text Lakhanor or Nagar was reconquered by Iwaz (p. 163), while Raverty's texts do not mention it. In any case, however, there was a fight between the ruler of Orissa and Iwaz. There is reference to this fight in the inscription of Anangabhima III of the Ganga dynasty (see DHNI, I, 477-79; Banerji, Orissa, I, 260-262; JASB, 1886, 322, 326; EI, XIII, 151).

³ After the death of Lakshmanasena soon after Bakhtyar's conquest of Bengal, his sons succeeded him. Lakshmana is known to be alive in 1206 A.D. from the colophon of the Saduktikarnamrita. After him Visvarupa and Kesava ruled at least for 14 and 3 years respectively. Assuming the death of Lakshmanasena sometime

place in 1227 A.D.¹ when in his absence from the capital the Dihli army under Prince Nasiruddin captured the undefended capital and the adjoining fort. The news of the Turkish invasion made Iwaz to conclude his Kamarupa campaign hurriedly and proceed to the defence of his capital with whatever forces he could gather in haste. But he was too late. The battle that was fought with the imperialists ended in his defeat and ultimately in his death. After the defeat of Iwaz, in the language of the chronicler, 'the whole of the Khalji Amirs were taken prisoners'.

Iwaz founded many public works, such as a Jami Masjid and other mosques which were seen by Minhaj in 641 H. (1243/44 A.D.) when the latter visited Bengal. As noted already he built a fort at Basankot. In order to facilitate transport and movement even during the monsoon when the country around Lakhnauti were inundated with flood, Iwaz built a highway (pul) from Nagar on the western side of the Ganges to Devkot in Dinajpur passing through the capital city of Lakhnauti from which both the places were almost equidistant.²

No better tribute could be paid to Iwaz than those paid by the court chronicler of his antagonist's dynasty in these words. 'He was a man of exceedingly pleasing mein, of exceedingly handsome appearance, and both his exterior and interior were adorned with the perfection of mercy. He was magnanimous, just and munificent. During his reign the troops and the inhabitants of that country enjoyed comfort and tranquillity.'

Iwaz ruled for twelve years from 1216 to 1227 A.D. (613 H.-624 H.)

in 1206/7 A.D. both his sons were contemporaries of Iwaz and both, from their inscriptions, are known to have fought the 'Garga Yavanas' or the Ghorid Muslims as the Khaljis were known to the Hindus of Bengal. The Khaljis were called 'Garga Yavanas' possibly because of the fact that the early Khalji invaders were followers of the Ghorid Sultan (See N. G. Majumdar, I.B., III, 132-39, 118-31 and also DHNI, I, 379-82.) According to Harivamsa, however, the origin of the Garga Yavanas is traced from Garga Muni

¹ A coin of Iwaz was found at Gauhati in 1880. This, in the absence of any definite statement in the chronicles, cannot be taken to mean that Iwaz advanced up to Gauhati. Find spots only of inscriptions, unlike those of coins and copper-plates, may be regarded as proof of occupation.

² As stated elsewhere Devkot is about 75 miles to the north of Lakhnauti while Lakhanor or Nagar was 85 miles to the south of it.

Bhubaneswar plate says of Anangabhimā (c. 1211-38). He destroys in battle the Yavana, who possessed an impetuosity that effectively advanced to the attack (E.I., XIII, 153). The same fact is referred to the Krishnapur (Cuttack) inscription. 'What shall I speak of him who alone, with his throat adorned with arrows, killed warriors in the war with the Yavana king?' (JASB, 1886, 322). See also JIH, 1936, 177.

After the defeat and death of Sultan Ghyasuddin Iwaz Khalji in 1227, Bengal passed under the Sultanate of Dihli. Dihli's control over Bengal was only nominal. The Khaljis, as the subsequent events show, were probably still masters of the province and they were not crushed till after the second invasion of Iltutmish in 1231. The heir-apparent to the throne, Prince Nasiruddin Abil Fath Mahmud, was made the Viceroy.

On the 18th February, 1229 A.D. (23rd Rabi I, 626 H.), Iltutmish got the investiture of the Caliph and also a robe of honour from the latter. Iltutmish in his turn sent a robe of honour and a red umbrella to his son in Bengal, but the presents could hardly reach its recipient as the news of the death of the Prince reached Dihli in less than a month and a half, in April 1229 (Jumada I, 626 H.).

The Prince ruled in Bengal for about two years from 1227 to 1229 A.D. (624-626 H.).¹

¹ Raverty remarks that some MS consulted by him has the date 628 H. as the year of Mahmud's death. It is apparently wrong as elsewhere in the T.N. the Prince is stated to have ruled for a year and a half, which counting from 624 H. the year of Iwaz's defeat, falls in 626 H. the date given in reliable MS. noticed by Raverty and also in the Printed Text, p. 174

Thomas ascribes to him an undated coin (JRAS, 1873, 365, No. 12). But he is evidently mistaken for the following reasons: The name of the prince as given in the T.N. is 'Nasiruddin Mahmud' (Text, 174), and that given in the inscription on his tomb is 'Malik Muluk-us-Sharq Abil Fath Mahmud' (JRAS, 1873, 364). His name therefore was Nasiruddin Abil Fath Mahmud. But the name on the coin is 'Nasiruddin Abul Muzaffar Mahmud'. It may be argued in favour of Thomas that Al Mustansir's name could not be inscribed on the coin of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-66 A.D.) the former being dead in 1242 A.D.; and therefore the coin belongs to Nasiruddin who was alive during the caliphate of Al-Muntasir. This counter argument may from the study of Indo-Muslim numismatics be proved to be groundless. Al-Mustakfi, the Egyptian Caliph died in 740 H. but his name continued in the coins of Muhammad Bin Tughluq till 744 H. and 745 H. minted from Dihli and Daulatabad respectively (Wright - The Sultans of Dihli, their Coinage and Metrology, p. 168). Bengal coinage also affords a parallel example. In the coin of Alauddin Daulat Shah of Bengal, dated 627 H. the name of the Caliph Zahir appears, though he is known to have been dead and succeeded by Al-Muntasir as early as Rajab, 623 H. (July, 1226). Moreover, the political upheavals and wars of succession at Dihli could not possibly allow the Sultan Nasiruddin to ascertain the name of the then Caliph. The earliest known coin of Sultan Nasiruddin with the Caliph's name 'Al-Mustasim' is dated 645 H. (1247-48) but this date is not certain.

Secondly, Minhaj calls Prince Nasiruddin a Malik and so is the title in the inscription.

Thirdly, the title 'Sultan-u-Azam' on the coin could not be Prince Nasiruddin's, however cordial the relation between the father and the son might have been. We could at best expect a 'Sultan-ul-Muzzam'.

Fourthly, the coin is undated, and it cannot be definitely said that the coin was issued by Prince Nasiruddin.

**Alauddin Daulat Shah
Khalji, 1229-1230
A.D.**

After the death of Prince Nasiruddin in 1229 A.D., Daulat Shah Khalji became the Viceroy of Bengal. He is known to have issued a coin in 627 H. (1230 A.D.)¹ which bore the name of his own and also that of his sovereign, Shamsuddin Iltutmish. In his coin Daulat Shah calls himself a Sultan and assumes the Persian title 'Shah-in-Shah' and uses the title 'Sultan-ul-Azam' for Iltutmish. He seems to have been trying to revive the Khalji supremacy in Bengal and to keep off the invasion from Dihli by nominal allegiance to the Sultan, but was soon ousted by a bold and more adventurous Khalji chief named Balka.²

Finally the consideration of the two dates, viz date of Iltutmish's receipt of the investiture and the date of the arrival of the news of the Prince's death in Dihli which were separated by less than two months (from 23rd Rabi I to Jumada I, 626 H.) strengthens the view that the coin was not minted by Prince Nasiruddin. Considering the distance of Bengal from Dihli it is impossible to presume that the Prince at all received the presents sent by his Imperial father.

It may be noted in this connection that Raverty expresses doubt about the Prince's death at Lakhnauti (p. 615, fn 5), while Ferishta suggests that he died at Lakhnauti (Biggs, I, 210). In the accounts of the Prince, Minhaj says that after the receipt of the investiture Iltutmish sent robe of honour to Lakhnauti for the Prince (Text, 181, Raverty, 630) and then again in the accounts of Iltutmish he says that in Jumada I of 626 H. the year in which the Caliph's envoy was sent to Dihli, the news of the Prince's death reached Dihli (Text, 174, Raverty, 616-617). These two statements taken together suggests that the Prince died at Lakhnauti and not at Oudh as held by Raverty.

¹ The date of the coin is variously read as 627 or 629 H. The latter reading is not correct, because by Rajab 628 H. Bengal was a calm and quiet place after the suppression of Balka's rebellion. The date should therefore be read 627 H. The date of Iltutmish's coming to Bengal and suppression of Balka is given as 627 H. in the Text, and also in T.A. and Ferishta. But 628 H. as noticed by Raverty in some old MSS. is preferable as otherwise issue of Daulat Shah's coin, Balka's rebellion and the subsequent events are to be limited to a very short period of the early seven months of 627 H., i.e. from Nov. 1229 to June 1230. This short period, though not improbable, should preferably be avoided when we have Rajab 628 in some older MSS. of T.N. as the date of Iltutmish's return to Dihli from Bengal (Raverty 616, fn. 5, para 1).

² Balka Khalji and Daulat Shah have been confused and are generally taken as one and the same person. Scholars have been led to this mistake by Thomas who quotes from a certain MS. in the B.M. a name given as 'Malik Ikhtyaruddin Daulat Shah Balka'. It seems that the authority quoted by Thomas is not absolutely beyond doubt. The name of the rebel as given in the Text is Balka Malik Khalji (p. 174) or Malik Ikhtyaruddin Balka (p. 163). The name of the Shamsi noble who was governor of Bengal is 'Malik Qizl Khan or Gazl Khan Daulat Shah Khalji (p. 177). This approaches the name found on the coin, 'Alauddin Daulat Shah'. A second list of Shamsi nobles found in certain MS. and incorporated in the Printed Text has a name 'Malik Ikhtyaruddin Iran Shah Balka' (p. 178) but there is no designation 'Malik-i-Lakhnauti' or governor of Lakhnauti. Since there is no Daulat

Ikhtyaruddin Balka Khalji organized a rebellion and drove the then ruler Sultan Alauddin Daulat Shah Bin Maudud out of power sometime towards the close of 1230 A.D. Iltutmish who was then at the height of his power and majesty could not tolerate this defiance of his authority and he himself came to Bengal to put down the rebellion. Balka was eventually secured and the rebellion that took the colour of a national revolution of the Khalji malcontents was finally crushed.

Iltutmish entrusted the government of Bengal, from which Bihar was separated, to a Turkish noble named Malik Alauddin Jani and returned to Dihli sometime in June, 1231 A.D. (Rajab, 628 H.). With the overthrow of Balka Bengal began to be ruled by the Turks of non-Khalji origin and the Khaljis finally disappeared from her history.

Shah in the latter name we may ignore it as it is not corroborated by the name on the coin. Possibly the confusion began here and 'Ikhtyaruddin Iran Shah Balka' whoever he might have been, has been confused with the name of the rebel 'Ikhtyaruddin Balka Khaui'. The confusion was complete when 'Ikhtyaruddin Balka' the rebel's name, and the common factor of the name of the Shamsi noble given in the second version of the Printed Text (p. 178, footnote) was added the portion of 'Daulat Shah' of the governor's name in the Chamberlain MS. referred to by Thomas. It seems from the above discussion that the name of the governor was 'Daulat Shah' as given in the coin and in the Text, p. 177, and that Alauddin was his self assumed title while Qizl Khan or Gazl Khan was his Turkish name abandoned in the coin.

Raverty's translation seems to suggest that the news of the death of Prince Mahmud and that of the rebellion of Balka reached the Sultan at the same time in Jumada I, 626 H. But the Text does not suggest that Balka rebelled sometime in 627 H. or in 628 H. Iltutmish was the acknowledged Sultan of Bengal till 627 H. The rebellion, therefore, occurred towards the close of 627 H. or early part of 628 H. as by Rajab 628 H. Iltutmish is known to have returned to Dihli after suppressing the rebellion in Bengal.

Another confusion has been created by Raverty by calling Daulat Shah a son of Iwaz. He may have been a relative of Iwaz, but not definitely his son. The Texts of T.N. or T.A. have no such notice. On the other hand, from the coin we learn the name of Daulat Shah's father as Maudud. Iwaz was never known as Maudud. He was first known as Husamuddin and later as Ghyasuddin. In any case had Daulat been a son of Iwaz we should expect the name of Iwaz, either as Husamuddin, or Ghyasuddin or simply Iwaz, or in the extreme case the words 'Sultan ibn Sultan' added to Daulat Shah's name. The weight of arguments and facts go against the theory of Raverty. Nor there is any definite proof that Balka was Iwaz's son.

PRTHVĪRĀJA III, THE LAST HINDU EMPEROR OF DELHI

By DASHARATHA SHARMA

Prthvīrāja III was born on the 12th of Jyeṣṭha.¹ He is said to have been conceived at a very auspicious moment when Mars was in Capricorn, Saturn in Aquarius, Venus in Pisces,² the Sun in Aries, the Moon in Taurus, and Mercury in Gemini. The positions of Jupiter and the Dragon's Head have been lost through damage to the manuscript of the *Prthvīrājaviṇaya*; but fortunately the author has stated that two of the planets occupied their own houses and five their houses of exaltation.³ Hence we might conclude that Jupiter was in Cancer. These planetary positions indicate V. 1222 as the year of conception, giving V. 1223 as the year of birth.⁴

In V. 1234 Prthvīrāja's father Someśvara died, leaving the young Prthvīrāja and his younger brother Harirāja to the care of their mother Queen Karpūradevī who, according to the *Prthvīrājaviṇaya*, proved an excellent regent.⁵ Kadamvavāsa, known as Kaimāsa or Kaimbāsa in popular legends and mentioned as *mandaleśvara* Kaimāsa in the *Kharataragachchhapattāvalī* of Jinapāla was the chief minister during the regency⁶ and for some time thereafter. His presiding over a discussion between two Jaina scholars, Padamaprabha and Jinapati Sūri,⁷ during the temporary absence of his master from the court, shows the high position that he held in the State. Traditional accounts describe him as a great soldier. The contemporary poem *Prthvīrājaviṇaya* speaks eloquently of his administration and devotion to Prthvīrāja and gives him all the credit for the early victories of his master's reign.⁸ Another

¹ *Prthvīrājaviṇaya* (indicated hereafter as *PV*), VII, 50.

² Dewān Bahādur H. B. Sārdā wrongly puts Jupiter in Pisces, and the mistake is copied by Dr. H. C. Ray. '*Danuṣānām guru*' is not Jupiter.

³ See Jonarāja's commentary on *PV*, VII, 27.

⁴ I am indebted for the calculation of the planetary positions to the well-known astronomer *Jyotiṣāchārya* Pandit Suryanārāyaṇa Vyās of Ujjain and my friend Mr. B. K. Chaṭurvedī, the Subā of Ujjain.

⁵ *PV*, IX, 1, 34. The last inscription of Someśvara and the first of Prthvīrāja III belong to V. 1234.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 35-43.

⁷ *Kharataragachchhapattāvalī* (unpublished), pp. 25-34.

⁸ According to the *Prthvīrāja-rāso* as well as the *Prthvīrājaprabandha* published in the *Purāṇanaprabandhasaṅgraha* of the Singhī Jaina Granthamālā, Kaimāsa was later on slain by his master. According to the *Rāso*, he was shot down with an

minister of this period of regency was Bhuvanaikamalla, a younger brother of Karpūradevī's father Achalarāja, who is described as a man of extremely charitable disposition, ready to give away all that he had and fully proficient in the art of subduing *nāgas*.¹

Prthvirāja assumed the reins of administration about V. 1237 and soon found himself engaged in a number of wars. Of these the first may be regarded as one of the most serious, for it seems to have involved the question of succession. Prthvirāja II had defeated and probably slain one of Vighraharāja's sons Aparagāṅgeya; but another named Nāgārjuna had survived and bided his time. Encouraged perhaps by the new king being young and inexperienced, he had the temerity to rise against him and capture the town of Guḍapura.² The success achieved by Nāgārjuna seems not to have been negligible, because in some of our historical sources we even find him named as one of the rulers of Ajmer.³ Prthvirāja marched against him with a large army consisting of horses, elephants, camels and infantry, and laid siege to Guḍapura. Nāgārjuna managed to escape from the beleaguered fort; but his wife, mother,

arrow, because, Prthvirāja, on returning rather unexpectedly to his Palace, found Kaimbāsa in the apartments of his favourite concubine Karnātī (57th *śamaya*, Nāgarī Prachīnī Sabhā Edition). The *Prabandha* ascribes the Minister's death to the machinations of one Pratāpasimha who succeeded in poisoning the ears of Prthvirāja and making him believe, though wrongly, that Kaimbāsa was responsible for the repeated attacks of the Muslims on India (*Purāṇanāprabandhasaṅgraha*, pp. 86-87). Both these accounts deserve to be rejected, because of being in conflict with the evidence of the *Prthvirājaviṇaya*, a book written most probably between 1191 and 1193 A.D., which compares Kadambarāsa with Hanumān and credits him, as pointed out above, with the early successes of Prthvirāja III's reign. None suspected of treachery or even worse could, I believe, be described in this strain by a court-poet.

¹ *PV*, IX, 67-86. Dewān Bahādur H. B. Sārdā interprets the word *nāga* as the Nāga tribe, and Jonarāja, as elephants. In absence of any reference to fighting against the Nāga tribe, it is better to agree with Jonarāja.

atha kuṇḍhavadṛchchhayaiva Nāgārjuna iti ninditabhikṣuyogyanāma |
ngadaparagrahāya māturgraha iva Vighraharājavallabhāyāḥ ||
piturakhilānpāvilanghya-bhāgyādbhutabalanīrmathanaikavīrajanamā |
Guḍapuramīti durgamadhyarohan-madhurarasāhṛtidohadena bālāḥ ||

(*Prthvirājaviṇaya*, X, 6-7)

² The first line of the second verse quoted here would show that this Vighraharāja 'whose fortune could not be surpassed by any ruler' could be none but Vighraharāja IV. In XII, 58 of this *kāvya*, Vighraharāja IV is mentioned merely as Vighraharāja. The way this ruler's reign is cursorily referred to in the *PV*, in spite of the splendid achievements to his credit, shows that Someśvara, and therefore naturally the rest of his family, had never been on very good terms with Vighraharāja IV.

³ *Āin-i-Akbarī*, II, p. 208; our bardic *Bahī*, p. 54b. The name in these is not, however, Nāgārjuna. It is Nāgadamaṇa in the *Bahī* and Nāgadeva in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*.

and followers fell into the hands of the victor along with a large amount of booty. The soldiers who continued fighting against Prthvīrāja under the leadership of Devabhaṭa, probably an officer of Nāgārjuna, were soon killed to the last man and a garland made of their heads was hung across the gate of the fort.¹

Another early war of Prthvīrāja was against the Bhādānakas whose territory comprised the present Rewāri Tahsīl, Bhiwāni and its adjoining villages, and a part of the Alwar State. It must have occurred some time before V. 1239, when in the course of the discussion between Padmaprabha and Jinapati Sūri, the latter composed two verses in honour of Prthvīrāja's victory over the Bhādānakas.² The overthrow of the Bhādānakas seems to have been decisive, for we hear no more of them as a ruling power.

Such successes could easily have spurred the ambition of any ruler for *digvijaya*. We do not, therefore, wonder when we read in Jinapāla's *Kharataragachchhapattāvalī* that in V. 1239 Prthvīrāja had already started on his conquest of all the quarters and pitched his first camp at Narānayana.³ The book mentions no names. It would not, however, be altogether without justification to presume that he was, at the time, proceeding to Jejākabhukti, which according to Prthvīrāja's Madanpur inscriptions, was laid waste in V. 1239 by Prthvīrāja, the son of Someśvara and the grandson of Arjorāja.⁴

The *Prthvīrājā-rāso* and the *Ālhakhaṇḍa* would have us believe that the Chauhāns conquered Mahobā, the capital of the Chandel ruler Parmāl, after a stiff fight with the Banāfara heroes Ālhā and Ūdal who were aided also by an army from Kanauj.⁵ Their free mixture of facts with fiction, however, makes it difficult to judge how far their statements may be regarded as true history. Of one thing, at least, we can be sure. Prthvīrāja decisively defeated Paramardīn, the Chandel monarch, in some action or other. This fact

¹ PV, XII, 8-38.

² Translated into English, these verses would stand as follows:—

'How should we describe the incomparable lustre of the valour of Prthvīrāja whose armies fill the quarters in every direction, on whose entry attends the goddess of Victory, and struck by whose sharp missiles, the elephants of the Bhādānakas, form indeed the figure of *svastika*, with the rows of pearls trickling down from their temples.

'O Prthvīrāja, the gladdener of numerous subjects, where is the ground for competition between hostile rulers and thee who art verily the Sun on account of thy intense splendour, and has, acting like a lion, with thy hand bearing a sword, torn asunder even the irresistible elephant force of the lord of the Bhādānaka land?'

³ P. 25. Narānayana is modern Narāna.

⁴ ASIR, X, p. 98, XXII, pp. 173f.; PRAS, WC, 1903-1904, p. 55.

⁵ See the *Mahobā-yuddha-samaya* of the *Rāso* and the account of the last battle of the Banāfara heroes in the *Ālhakhaṇḍa*.

is not only indicated by the accounts of these books but also proved by the date of the Madanpur inscriptions just referred to above, and by stray verses in the *Śārngadharaṣṭakāśī* and the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*,¹ according to which Parmardin saved himself by putting a piece of straw in his mouth when attacked by Prthvirāja.² Help from the side of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj too does not seem improbable.³ But as Prthvirāja's inscriptions claim not the conquest but merely the devastation of Jejākbhukti, and as Parmardin's inscriptions are found both at Kālīnjara and Mahobā in V. 1240, nearly a year after the Chauhān invasion,⁴ and as Paramardin is described as *Daśārnādhīpati* in one of his late Kālīnjara inscriptions,⁵ we have to look askance at the story of the complete conquest of Bundelkhand as given in our later and less reliable sources.

We do not know against whom the *digvijayin* Prthvirāja next turned his arms. The *Kharataragachchhapattāvalī* of Jinapāla tells us that he had been at war with Gujarāt before V. 1244, and its evidence is happily corroborated by that of the Verāval inscription according to which Jagaddeva Pratihāra, the Prime Minister of Bhīmadeva II of Gujarāt, was verily 'the Moon to the lotus-like queens of Prthvirāja.'⁶ It was probably during the course of this very war that Prthvirāja led the night attack on Dhārāvārṣa Paramāra of Ābu which we find described in the *Pārthaparākrama-vyāyoga* of Dhārāvārṣa's younger brother Prahlādana. The attack is said to have been a failure.⁷

The only work dealing in detail with this Chaulukya-Chauhān struggle is the late and unreliable *Prthvirāja-rāso* according to which its main events were the capture of Nāgor by Bhīmadeva, its recapture by Prthvirāja, the defeat and death of Someśvara at the hands of Bhīmadeva, and the latter's defeat and death at the hands of Prthvirāja, the successor of Someśvara.⁸ Now, we have good

¹ In the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, the verse is referred to Paramardin of Kuntala even though his adversary is mentioned as Prthvirāja of Sapādalaksa. This Paramardin lived about V. 1143. So the actual Paramardin meant by the verse is Parmardin of Jejākbhukti, a contemporary of Prthvirāja III.

² *Śārngadharaṣṭakāśī*, verse 1254: PC, p. 116.

³ The Mau stone-inscription shows the friendly relations between the Gāhaḍavālas and Mandanavarman Chandel (V. 1186-1220 c.) These good relations probably continued in Paramardin's time.

⁴ See EI, V, Appendix, p. 26, and ASR, XXI, p. 72; PASB, 1879, pp. 143-44.

⁵ Dateśn V. 1258 (IA, XIX, p. 254).

⁶ Line 38, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*, II, p. 218.

⁷ *Pārthaparākrama-vyāyoga*, p. 3.

⁸ See the 12th, 39th, and 44th *śamayas* of the *Rāso* published by the Nagari Prachārīṇi Sabhā, Benares. The account is found in all the recensions of the *Rāso*.

reasons to believe that Someśvara was not slain by the Chaulukya monarch. He probably died before Bhīmadeva ascended the throne; but, even if he did not, Bhīmadeva was in V. 1234 too young to have fought a personal duel with him.¹ The death of Bhīmadeva II at the hands of Prthvirāja III is even more improbable, because the former is known to have survived the latter by nearly half a century.² But the fight between the Chaulukyas and Chauhāns at Nāgor, though undoubtedly not quite certain, is far from improbable. Two inscriptions found at Charlū, a village in the south-east of the Bikāner State, commemorate the death of certain Mohilā heroes in the battle of Nāgor in the Vikrama year 1241.³ Is it not likely that this might actually be the battle of Nāgor referred to in the *Rāso*, the grounds for such a supposition being,

- (1) That the Mohilas were themselves Chauhāns.
- (2) That the territory they lived in was a part of Prthvirāja III's empire, fighting for whom was, hence, their bounden duty.
- (3) That the year V. 1241 precedes that of the treaty between the Chauhāns and Chaulukyas mentioned in the *Kharataragachchhapattāvalī* of Jinapāla.
- (4) That neither history nor tradition tells us of any other battle of Prthvirāja III near Nāgor which was one of the strongest forts of the Sapādalakṣa empire.

Jagaddeva Pratihāra might have scored a few initial successes against the Chauhāns who, as we have seen, failed also in their night attack on Dhārāvārṣa. But the war seems, on the whole to have gone in Prthvirāja's favour, for the *Kharataragachchhapattāvalī* represents Jagaddeva Pratihāra as extremely anxious to preserve the treaty with the Chauhāns which he had concluded with great difficulty in or shortly before V. 1244.⁴

¹ Someśvara died in V. 1234. Bhīmadeva II ruled, according to Dr. H. C. Ray, from V. 1235 to 1298. According to the *Kirtikaumudī*, he was very young when he ascended the throne, and incapable of managing the affairs of the State.

² Bhīmadeva II's last inscription is found in V. 1296, but he probably continued ruling for two or three years more.

³ See the *Rājasthāna-Bhārati*, Vol. I, for the text of these inscriptions.

⁴ The passage in the *Kharataragachchhapattāvalī* is as follows:—'V. 1244 . . . The messenger sent by the *dandanāyaka* Abhayada, going to the camp, put his master's application at the feet of Jagaddeva Pratihāra. By the latter's orders, a servant read this communication, 'Many wealthy people of Sapādalakṣa have, at present, come here. If you order me, I shall manage to provide fodder for the royal horses'. On hearing this, Jagaddeva got angry, and had, immediately, the following order written by his clerk, 'I have recently concluded a treaty with Prthvirāja, after taking a lot of trouble. If you therefore lay your hands on the people of Sapādalakṣa, I shall have you sewn in the belly of a donkey'. Returning with

Tradition speaks also of a war between Jayachandra of Kanauj and Prthvirāja. That there should have been some rivalry between the two is but natural. Both were ambitious rulers aspiring to the first place in the Indian polity. 'From his large army and grandeur', states the Tāju-l-Ma-āsir, 'the desire of something like the conquest of the world had raised a phantom in his (Prthvirāja's) imagination.'¹ Other authorities, though a little later in date, ascribe the same ambition to Jayachandra,² who could never have been well pleased with Prthvirāja's success against his neighbours, the Bhādānakas of Ahīravātī and the Chandels of Jejākbhukti. The immediate cause, however, of the outbreak of hostilities between the two is believed to have been the 'daring abduction of the not unwilling daughter' of Jayachandra by the gallant Prthvirāja. The story does not find a place in the *Prthvirājaprabandha*, the *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, the *Prabandhakośa*, and the *Hammīramahākāvya*, all of which have something to say about the Chauhān hero. Nevertheless, we find it difficult to regard it as a mere romantic product of bardic fancy, because—

- (1) Silence on the point of the books just mentioned is no argument for the non-occurrence of the abduction; they are also silent on the four main exploits of Prthvirāja, namely the capture of Guḍapura, the fight against the Bhādānakas, the attack on the kingdom of Dhārāvārṣa Paramāra of Chāndrāvātī, and the war against Chaulukyas.
- (2) The incident is given by three fairly old authorities, Abul Fazl, Chandraśekhara and Chand Bardāi, the first two of whom can by no means be accused of having been fond of inventing tales.³
- (3) Even the extant *Prthvirājaviṇaya*, though nothing more than a fragment of what it originally must have been, refers towards its end to Prthvirāja's coming marriage with a princess, who like the Saṃyogitā of the *Rāso*, is mentioned as the incarnation of an *apsara*.⁴

speed with this order, the messenger handed it over to the *duṇḍanāyaka* who on reading it paid his respects to the *Saṅgha* and let it proceed on its way'.

¹ *ED*, II, p. 214.

² See the *Prthvirājaprabandha* and the *Prthvirāja-rāso*. According to the former of these (copied in V. 1528), Jayachandra had his capital illumined when he heard the news of Prthvirāja's death (*Purāṇanaprabandhasaṅgraha*, pp. 86 and 89).

³ For the story see the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, II, pp. 300ff, the *Surjanacharita*, X, 13-128, and the *Prthvirāja-rāso*, XLV-L and LX-LXI *śamayas* of the Nāgarī Prachārīṇi Sabhā edition.

⁴ *PV*, XII, 38; *Rāso*, 45th *śamaya*.

- (4) As in the *Rāso*, the princess of the *Prthvīrājaviṣaya* becomes the lady-love of Prthvīrāja even though she had never before been seen by the polygamous hero,¹ suggesting strongly by these resemblances that she is probably the original of the Saṃyogitā of the *Rāso* and the Kāntimatī of the *Surjana-Charita*.

The story, as given by Chand Bardāi, Abul Fazl and Chandraśekhara is too well known to be cited at length. Prthvīrāja, who loved the beautiful daughter of Jayachandra of Kanauj and had his passion fully reciprocated, succeeded in carrying her off from a *svayamvara* to which he had deliberately not been invited on account of his rivalry with her father for the overlordship of India. His *sāmantas* covered the eloping pair's flight, engaged the forces pursuing them, and fell fighting to the last for their beloved master. Not many were the heroes who returned to the Chauhān Capital where Prthvīrāja duly married the Princess and thereafter spent most of his time in the company of the new Queen.²

Very romantic indeed!! But such things do sometimes happen in the world. There is, for instance, the well-known case of the Rāṣtrakūṭa prince Indra, who, though a feudatory of the Chālukyas, succeeded in carrying off their princess Bhavanāga by force from her marriage pandal at Kairā.³ Besides, as pointed out elsewhere by me,⁴ much of the strangeness of this story would disappear, if we agree to regard Prthvīrāja's *sāmantas*, not as individual warriors like the knight-errants of European romances but as leaders of units or regiments of Prthvīrāja's cavalry which swooped almost unexpectedly on the Gāhaḍavāla capital while Jayachandra was engaged in certain religious rites and carried off the Princess as desired by their master and commander Prthvīrāja of Delhi and Ajmer.⁵ That Prthvīrāja was not incapable of such lightning strokes is obvious enough from his nocturnal attack on the Paramāra forces of Chandrāvati and the devastation of the powerful kingdoms of Jejākabhukti within the short space of nearly three or four months.⁶ At

¹ PV, X, 2, and XII, 1-38.

² There are slight differences in the three versions which cannot be noted in this summary account

³ *Indrarājastatoḡṛhāt yaś- Chālukyanṛpātmaṣām |
rākṣasena vivāhena raṇe Kheṣakamaṇḍape ||* (EI, XVIII, p. 243).

⁴ Introduction to the Bikāner recension of the *Prthvīrāja-rāso* to be published shortly by the Nāgari Prachārīṇi Sabhā, Benares.

⁵ Hammira of Ranthambhor was similarly attacked by Khalṣi forces while he was performing a *yajña*.

⁶ Up to Kārttika Sukla 7, Prthvīrāja was not far away from Ajmer, though engaged in preparations for the *digvijaya*. So the time left at his disposal in the year V. 1239, when Jejākabhukti was devastated, was naturally only a few months.

Kanauj, his tactics might well have been similar, though carried out with a different object. The coup was undoubtedly more impolitic, if, as averred by tradition, it crippled his army and permanently estranged him from a neighbour of great strength and vindictive nature.

All authorities giving any account of this abduction of Jayachandra's daughter put it a little before Prthvirāja's final fight with Muhammad Ghori in 1192 A.D. The Chauhāns first came into contact with this foreign foe in 1178 A.D., but to avoid a break in our narrative we have not so far taken any notice of him. We now turn to his exploits on the Indian soil.

From the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* we learn that Muhammad Ghori was appointed to the governorship of Ghaznī in 1173 A.D.¹ by his elder brother Ghiyāsuddīn Muhammad and led his first expedition to India in 1175 A.D., i.e. nearly two years before Prthvirāja's accession. He captured Multān from the Karamitah and took Uchchh from its Rājput ruler after having him poisoned by his queen.² Having thus secured a sort of bridgehead for further conquests, he advanced against Gujarāt in 1178 A.D.³ Proceeding most probably by way of Kirāḍu, where the *Turuskas* are known to have destroyed the image of the deity Someśvara before Karttika, V. 1235,⁴ he reached Nāḍol and captured it more or less easily.⁵ It was high time for Prthvirāja to face this common danger threatening all the Indian kingdoms, for he too had already been approached by a messenger from Muhammad Ghori desiring Prthvirāja to pay tribute or otherwise render homage.⁶ The proposal was scornfully turned down, as it should, of course, have been; but is it not a pity that Prthvirāja did not draw any lesson from it? The Gujarātis needed help, but they had none from Prthvirāja because of the advice of his Chief Minister Kadambavāsa.⁷ Taking both the Gujarātis and the Muslims alike as their enemies, the Chauhāns of Ajmer were rather glad to see that they were fighting against and destroying each other. Thanks to the serious reverse sustained by Muhammad Ghori at the hands of the Gujarātis in the battle of Kāsahrada, the Chauhāns were not called upon to taste immediately the bitter fruit of their policy; but the example thus set by them was followed by others when it was the Chauhāns' turn to struggle against the Muslims between 1191 and 1195 A.D. In fact, we cannot deplore this attitude of the Chauhāns too highly; for, as subsequent events

¹ Raverty's translation, p. 449.

² Raverty—*Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, I, p. 449.
Briggs—*Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, I, p. 169.

³ Raverty—*Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, I, p. 451.

⁵ PV, X, 50.

⁶ PV, X, 42.

⁴ PRAS, WC, 1906-7, p. 42.

⁷ PV, XI, 2-4.

amply show, Kadambavāsa's or Prthvirāja's failure to help the Gujarātis proved in a few years detrimental not merely to the cause of the Chauhāns but also to that of the Hindu nation as a whole.

In 1181 A.D. Muhammad Ghorī marched to Sialkot and built a fort there. Five years later, he made himself the master of the whole of the Punjab by treacherously seizing Khusrav Mālik the last Ghaznavite ruler of Lahore. From this new base, he proceeded to the conquest of further Indian territory and naturally soon came into conflict with Prthvirāja who regarded the destruction of the Muslims as his special mission in this world.¹

According to all the old Hindu writers on the subject, Prthvirāja defeated Muhammad Ghorī at least seven times before he was himself vanquished, imprisoned and eventually slain after the second battle of Tarāin.² Muslim writers, on the other hand, mention only two battles between these rulers, the first in 1191 A.D. and the other more than one year later.³ The discrepancy can, in the absence of any other independent evidence, be reconciled by supposing that the Ghorī generals probably began raiding the Sapādalakṣa Empire soon after their capture of Lahore but were beaten back by the Chauhān forces stationed on the frontier, and that while these frontier forays have been magnified into big battles by the Hindu chroniclers, the Muslims have gone to the other extreme and overlooked them altogether.

The campaign leading to Muhammad Ghorī's first great battle with Prthvirāja was begun in the winter of 1190-1191 A.D.⁴ Advancing from either Ghaznā or his new base at Lahore,⁵ he captured the fortress of Tabarhindah⁶ in the dominions of Prthvirāja and put

¹ 'What more', says the *Prthvirājaviṣaya*, 'should we say of him (Muhammad Ghorī). Not keeping in view the fact that Prthvirāja was initiated in the ceremony of destroying those devils in the form of men, he sent a messenger to this lion residing in the cave of the Meru hill, i.e. Ajmer' (X, 42.)

² The *Prthvirāja-prabandha* and the *Hammīramahākāvya* give the number of Chauhān victories as seven, and the *Prabandhakośa* and the *Prthvirāja-rāso* as twenty-one.

³ See for instance the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, the *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, and the *Tabakāt-i-Akbari*.

⁴ Almost all the Muslim historians put the first battle of Tarāin in 587 H. (1191 A.D.) But Raverty would like to put it in 586 H. We think that the operations began in the winter of 586 H., but the battle was actually fought in 587 H. None of Raverty's arguments is strong enough to take the battle to the beginning of 586 H.

⁵ Earlier writers do not mention the place from which he started. But Badāuni says it was Ghaznā (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, I, 69).

⁶ All the MSS of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* collated by Raverty give either Tabarhindah or Tabarhindh. The *Tabakāt-i-Akbari*, *Mirātī-Jahān-Numā*, and *Khulāsāt-ut-Tawārikh* have Sarhind. The *Tārikh-i-Alfi*, *Zubadāt-ut-Tawārikh*, and *Muntakhab-*

it under the charge of Qāzi Ziyā-ud-dīn of Tulāk and a garrison of 1,200 horsemen, asking them to hold it until he came there again after a period of eight months.¹ Before he could himself leave the fortress, however, he received the disturbing news that Prthvirāja, the Rājā of Ajmer, was marching towards Tabarhindah with Govindarāja, the feudatory ruler of Delhi, some other princes, and a large force of elephants and horses.² He therefore set out to meet the Chauhān force and encountered it at Tarāin,³ a village in the Karnāl District in that very field of Kuruksetra where the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas are said to have fought against each other and decided the fate of their country in days of yore.

The fight began with the Chauhān attack on the right and left flanks of the Muslim army which, finding it difficult to resist the Hindu onset, soon took to flight.⁴ The vanguard too consisting of the Khalj Amīrs followed a similar course.⁵ But even then the brave Sultān did not lose heart. Rallying round himself the remainder of his troops, he rushed on the Chauhān army and seeing Govindarāja the Rājā of Delhi, moving in front of the Chauhān forces and directing them from the back of his elephant, he seized a spear and struck the Rājā with such effect that two of his teeth were knocked out. But the Rājā, who seems to have been no less valiant and skilful in the use of arms than his adversary, launched a javelin and severely wounded the Sultān on his upper arm.⁶

ut-Tawārīkh have Tarahindah. Firishta has either Pathindah or Bhatindah. The *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh-i-Hind* speaks of it as Tabarhindah now known as Bhatindah. Sir Wolsley Haug, Dr H C Ray, and some others identify it with Bhatinda probably on the basis of the last two authorities. But, if we keep in view the fact that Prthvirāja was marching from Ajmer to retake Tabardindah and Muḥammad Ghori marched out against him to defeat his object and then have a look at the map, we shall find that Sarhind, a town situated now in the Patialā State, and actually mentioned instead of Tabarhindah by some of our authorities, has a much better claim than Bhatinda to be regarded as Tabarhindah or Tabarhindh of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*. If the place had been Bhatindā instead of Sarhind, the site of the battle between the Chauhāns and the Muslims would have been most probably to the south of Bhatindā, instead of being at Tarāori which is one hundred miles directly to its east. That it would be just the right place for a battle, if the Chauhāns were proceeding to retake Sarhind and the Muslims or any other party to check them, needs perhaps no demonstration, for a look at the map would be proof enough of the correctness of this view.

¹ Raverty, *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, I, p. 458.

² The numbers of the Hindu army given by Firishta are 2,00,000 horse and 3,000 elephants.

³ Tarāin which Firishta and Budāunī identify with Tarāori must be the village of this name in the Karnāl District.

⁴ Translation from Firishta's History by Raverty in his footnote to the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, I, p. 463. Briggs' translation of the relevant passage is very faulty.

⁵ Raverty—*Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, I, p. 463, footnote.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 460.

So great was the agony caused by the injury that the Sultān turned round his charger's head and receded, and might have fallen off his horse and perished in the general melee, had he not been recognized by a Khalj youth who, seeing the Sultān's danger, sprang up behind him, and, supporting him in his arms, carried him out of the field of battle. The Muslim army had been in the meanwhile utterly routed.¹ Flying headlong from the field, the Muslim horsemen did not draw rein till they had reached a place where they considered themselves safe from pursuit, and loud were their lamentations when they found that the Sultān was not among them; but this grief was soon after turned into relief, if not something like rejoicing, when they found the Sultān brought to the halting place in a litter improvized with broken spears. All the dispersed elements of the vanquished army united once again, when they heard of the providential escape of the Sultān, and returned thereafter in good order to their own dominions.²

It is obvious from the above account that the Hindus were so superior, well-led and well-commanded that the Muslims could hardly have avoided the defeat even if their leader had not been badly wounded. Prthvirāja could now easily have consummated this victory by chasing and annihilating his routed enemy; but instead of doing this he allowed the scattered Muslim army to reform itself at some distance from the field and retire almost unmolested. This sort of ideal magnanimity (if it was actually an act of magnanimity as represented by Hindu writers and not of sheer indolence), though in full accord with the humane dictums of Hindu *Śāstras*, which give the Kṣatriyas their high notions of chivalry in the treatment of a fallen or fleeing foe, was out of date and altogether unwarranted by the canons of prudence and warfare as understood now and as understood then by the Muslim adversaries of Prthvirāja.

¹ Raverty—*Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, p. 460. The corresponding passage from the *Muntakhab-ul-Tawārikh* has been rendered by Ranking as follows:—

'The Sultān got off his horse and taking up his son Khilji upon his horse and mounting behind him took him off the field.'

Who is responsible for this howler, Budāuni or his translator?

² Raverty—*Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, I, p. 464. The *Hammīramahākāvya* gives the account of two battles of Prthvirāja against Muhammad Ghorī. Of those the first looks like a description of the causes of and course of the first battle of Tarāin. According to it, the battle was due to the appeal of the western rulers who headed by Chandrarāja, son of Gopālachandra, approached Prthvirāja and requested to be protected from the attacks of Muhammad Ghorī, a new Paraśurāma. Chandrarāja does not appear to be a fictitious person. But we have not unfortunately any means of identifying him. Can he be the original of Chandra Puṇḍira of the *Prthvirāja-rāso*, the head of the Puṇḍarika clan whose home Puṇḍarī is not far away from Tarāori?

It was indeed the second nail in the coffin of Hindu independence for which we have to hold Pr̥thvīrāja responsible.

Traditionary accounts state that the Chauhān Emperor passed the interval between this victory and the final defeat in first fighting against the Gāhaḍavālas and thereafter enjoying the company of his newly-wedded wife Samyogitā.¹ Muhammad Ghorī occupied himself differently. Muslim historians tell us that, after spending a few months with his brother at Īrūzkūh, he returned to Ghaznā, and 'having made sleep and rest unlawful to himself' devoted all his energies to the one task of revenging his defeat.² At length, having enlisted 1,20,000 select Turk, Tājik and Afghān horsemen, well-equipped with arms and armour, he started towards India, and passing through Multan and Lahore and receiving also some help from Pr̥thvīrāja's enemies,³ he once more reached the plains of Tarāin, though not soon enough to relieve the garrison of Tabarhindah which had, after undergoing a siege of nearly thirteen months, instead of the stipulated eight, surrendered on honourable terms to the Chauhān besiegers.⁴ Pr̥thvīrāja, who had haughtily rejected Muhammad Ghorī's ultimatum to embrace Islam and recognize the Muslim sovereign as his overlord, was already on the battlefield with an army of 3,00,000 horse, 3,000 elephants and considerable infantry.⁵ One hundred and fifty of the chiefs fighting under his banner swore by the water of the Ganges to conquer or die, and then wrote a letter to the Sultān offering to do him no harm, if he chose wisely to return to his country, but threatening him with complete destruction if he were determined to fight. Muhammad Ghorī, who was no stranger to the great bravery of the Rājputs, preferred, according to his wont, to try stratagem before force and wrote back saying, 'I have marched into India at the command of my brother whose general I am. Both honour and duty bind me to exert myself to the utmost . . . , but I shall be glad to obtain a truce till he is informed of the situation and I have received his answer.'⁶ The ruse had the desired effect on the credulous and over-confident

¹ See the 64th and 65th *samayas* (Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā edition).

² *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* The translation by Briggs being wrong, I have followed the translation by Raverty in his English translation of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 464, footnote 7

³ In the *History of Jammū* of which a summary would be found in Raverty's translation of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, Vijayarāja of Jammu is said to have helped Muhammad Ghorī against the Chauhāns.

⁴ Raverty, *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p. 464.

⁵ Briggs, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, I, p. 175. Firishṭa calls this the most authentic estimate.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

Hindus who, regardless of the past record of the Sultān, took him at his word, and falling into a holiday mood passed the night in merry-making. Early the next morning they had to taste the bitter fruit of this hasty and imprudent relaxation and dilly-dallying.

According to Muhammad Ufī,¹ who wrote his *Jāmi-'ul Hikāyāt* under Iluttmish and must therefore have known something of the actual events, the Ghori invader, with a view to preventing any possible suspicion of movement, kept a number of fires burning all the night where his army had encamped during the day, and marched off himself in another direction with the rest of his forces.² Then leaving the centre of his army, luggage, royal paraphernalia, and elephants several miles away, he divided the remaining part into four divisions, each of 10,000 archers and ordered them to attack the Hindus, right and left, front and rear, and retire pretending flight.³

It was hardly daylight when these troops reached the Chauhān camp and delivered their first attack. Prthvirāja was asleep,⁴ the Rājput soldiers were just moving out for their daily ablutions and other morning duties.⁵ Having thus been taken by surprise, the Rājputs could not have escaped considerable losses, but they could still have drawn themselves up into fighting order if the well-thought strategy of Muhammad Ghori had not lured and drawn them out into an unsystematic and ill-advised pursuit. About three in the afternoon, when the Hindus had become thoroughly wearied, Muhammad Ghori led his final charge with the troops that he had hitherto held in reserve. The Hindus were completely routed, losing about 100,000 men according to Hasan Nizāmī.⁶ Govindarāja, the Rājā of Delhi, was among the slain. The Sultān

¹ Briggs, *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, I, p. 176

² *I.D.*, II, p. 200

³ Raverty, *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, I, p. 468.

⁴ (i) *Gatanyasamgare Skande nidrāvyasanasannadluh vyāpāditaḥ = Turuṣkaissa jvanmyto yudhi*

(विजयविधिचिन्ता of Lakṣmīdhara, *Catalogue of MSS in the Library of the India Office*, No. 1577).

(ii) The account of the *Prthvirāja-prabandha*, though highly exaggerated no doubt, leads to the same conclusion. It begins with the words, 'Prthvirāja had been asleep ten days . . . In the meantime the Prime Minister had the Sultān sent for' (See the *Purāṇa-prabandhasaṅgraha*, p. 68.)

(iii) According to the *Prabandhachintāmanī*, Prthvirāja was asleep at the time after breaking his *ekādaśī* fast.

(iv) Firishta says that the Rājputs had passed the night in revelry. So Prthvirāja's being asleep at the time of the attack need not be regarded as strange.

⁵ *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, I, p. 468, note 1, *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, I, p. 170, *Hamīra-mahākāvya*, III, 58.

⁶ *ED*, II, p. 215.

recognized his head by the absence of the teeth that he had himself knocked out. Pr̥thvirāja, who must have joined the battle only very late, tried to escape on a horse, but was recognized, pursued and overtaken in the neighbourhood of Sarasvatī.¹

Pr̥thvirāja's life, however, was spared for a while, and he was carried, not to Ghaznā, as averred by some Hindu writers,² but to his own capital Ajmer which the Sultān captured after slaying thousands of its heroic defenders and reserving the rest for slavery.³ 'The pillars and foundations' of its temples were destroyed, and it was despoiled of the greater part of the wealth accumulated in the days of its prosperity.⁴ Muhammad Ghori was equally successful in other directions too, for soon after the greater part of Sapādalakṣa, including the forts of Hānsī, Sarasvatī, Samānā and Kohrām fell into his hands with comparative ease.⁵

According to the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Muhammad Ghori had some intention of re-instating Pr̥thvirāja on the throne of Ajmer, but had him beheaded instead when it was found that his picture-gallery contained paintings representing Muslim soldiers being killed by pigs.⁶ The statement is, no doubt, not wholly true. But that the Sultān had some intention of retaining Pr̥thvirāja as a vassal chief can be seen from a unique coin bearing the names of both Pr̥thvirāja and Muhammad bin Sām which was issued from the Delhi mint and has been noticed by Thomas in his '*Chronicle of the Pathān kings of Delhi*'.⁷ Such an issue could be possible only after Pr̥thvirāja had been defeated by the Muslims and agreed to rule as their subordinate.⁸ But Pr̥thvirāja's 'ancient hatred was', in the words of Hasan Nizāmī, the author of the *Tāju-l Ma-āsir*, 'deeply rooted and concealed in the bottom of his heart.'⁹ He was

¹ Sarasvatī can mean the neighbourhood of the Sarasvatī river as suggested by Raverty. But just two lines later, the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* speaks of Sarasvatī as a fort that surrendered to the Muslims. Firishta too speaks of it as a fort captured by the Muslims soon after the battle of Tarāin. Ibn Batutā puts it down as a place on the route from Abohar to Delhi. So the place meant is most probably Sirsā of the Hissar District, Punjab, which we found actually mentioned as Sarasvatī in the *Karmachandravamśotkirtanaka-kāvya* of Jayasoma.

² Cf. the *Pr̥thvirāja-rāso*, 66th *śamaya*.

³ *Tāju-l Ma-āsir*, ED, II, p. 215; De, *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, I, p. 39.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Raverty, *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, I, p. 468; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, I, p. 177.

⁶ Pp. 117-118.

⁷ Pp. 17-18.

⁸ That the Sultān was not then eager to take over the direct administration of Ajmer might be seen also from his making it over to Govinda on the death of his (Govinda's) father Pr̥thvirāja.

⁹ ED, II, p. 215.

detected in an intrigue, the nature of which Hasan Nizāmi does not make clear, and was beheaded by the orders of the Sultān.¹

Thus sadly and lamentably ended the life and career of one of the strongest rulers of medieval India. The very city where he had reigned supreme, hailed by poets as a veritable incarnation of Rāma,² witnessed his fall and wept over it. That he had some excellent qualities is generally admitted. He was, by all accounts, handsome, brave, courageous, unequalled in the art of archery, and the very embodiment of chivalry. His victories over the Bhādānakas, the Chandelas, Nāgārjuna, Bhīmadeva II of Gujarāt, Muhammad Ghorī in the first battle of Tarāin, and probably also over the Gāhādavālas prove conclusively his greatness as a general.³ And then, Prthivīrāja was no mere soldier. He was, in his time, also one of the foremost patrons of letters. His court was graced by the poet-historian Jayānaka, the writer of the *Prthivīrājaviṇaya*,⁴ Vidyāpati Gauda,⁵ *vāgīśvara* Janārdana,⁶ Viśvarūpa, a poet who befriended Jayānaka,⁷ Prthivībhāṭa, the royal bard,⁸ who was proficient in traditional lore and has been identified by some writers with Chand Bardāi, the author of the original *Prthivīrāja-rāso*,⁹ and a host of

¹ Can this intrigue, be the originator of the story of that described as follows in the *Prthivīrājaprabandha*, a manuscript of which was copied out in 1471 A.D. but which was, according to Muni Jinaviṇaya, composed very much earlier:—

‘The Sultān sat in the court in front of the place where they had housed Prthivīrāja (after his capture). This distressed him (the Rājā). The Rājā’s Prime Minister, who was a traitor but unknown as such to him, approached him and said, ‘My lord, what can be done? It was so destined’ The Rājā replied, ‘If thou givest me my bows and arrows, I shall kill the Sultān’ He assented and going to the Sultān asked him not to sit at his usual place. The Sultān had a metal statue of himself put there. Then going to the Rājā, the minister provided him with a bow. The Raja shot the arrow and the statue fell divided into two pieces. The Rājā threw off the bow, saying, ‘The task has not been accomplished; somebody else has been killed’ Then the Sultān had the Rājā thrown into a pit and pelted with stones’

(*Purātanaṣṭakāśaśaṅgraha*, p. 87.)

It is difficult to be sure about the amount of truth in this story of which versions even more exaggerated occur in the *Prthivīrāja-rāso*, the *Surjanacharita*, and the *Āin-i-Akbarī*.

² Read the *Prthivīrājaviṇaya*, for instance, where he is throughout regarded as an incarnation of Rāma

³ The second battle of Tarāin might be regarded as a blot on his generalship. But as he was asleep at the time (see note 4, p. 69), it could be no good test. He could have taken part in the battle only towards the end when the situation had already got out of hand.

⁴ See *PV*, I, 31 and XII, 62 to the end.

⁵ *Kharataragachchhapattāvalī* of Jinapāla, p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *PV*, I.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XI, 13-17.

⁹ The first mention of Chand Baradāi, however, that we have till now found is in the account of *Prthivīrāja* in the *Purātanaṣṭakāśaśaṅgraha* (copied V. 1528).

lesser luminaries whose names have not come down to us but who received due recognition and were occasionally called into conferences by Padmanābha, the minister in charge of Pandits and poets.¹

But with all his virtues, Prthvirāja had faults serious enough to deny him a place among the greatest rulers of India. He lacked foresight; he had not also statesmanship enough to see that the times had changed, and policies required to be either entirely discarded or to be adapted to the changing circumstances of the day. He seems to have prided himself on being a *digvijayin*, on perhaps having followed, in their entirety, the instructions of his uncle Vighraharāja IV who had in his well-known Siwalik Pillar *prasasti* exhorted his descendants not to be backward in making themselves the masters of the whole of India.² He never realized that with the Ghoris hammering at the gates of his northern frontier, a thorough pursuit of this policy could not be anything but suicidal. Instead of making new friends and presenting a united front to the Muslim invaders by organizing a friendly confederacy of which he could have been, by virtue of his position, one of the most prominent members, he made enemies on all sides by his raids on Jejākbhukti, Kanauj, and the empire of Gujarāt. The attacks brought him fame and wealth, but they also brought him the ill-will of his neighbours, consequently, when he was defeated in the second battle of Tarāin, not a single ruler came forward to support the tottering empire of Sapādalakṣa. Even standing alone Bhīmadeva II of Gujarāt and Prthvirāja III had, respectively, been able to defeat Muhammad Ghorī on two different occasions, at the battle of Kāsahrada in 1178 A.D. and at that of Tarāin in 1191. United together, these could not have merely stemmed the tide of Muslim invasion, but also freed the northern Punjab of Muslim domination. But the policy of the *digvijayin* Prthvirāja and the advice tendered to him by his counsellors when the Muslims invaded India in 1178 A.D. had, as pointed out already, so far estranged the Chaulukyas that acting exactly like Prthvirāja of fifteen years earlier, they did not make the slightest move against the Muslims until the power of the Chauhāns of Sapādalakṣa had been completely destroyed. If traditional accounts be believed and there is no cogent reason for not doing so, Prthvirāja's policy towards the Gāhaḍavālas had been equally bad, and Jayachandra, as pointed out above, rejoiced

¹ PV, XII, 58. Among occasional visitors to his court might be mentioned also the learned Jinapati Sūri of the Kharataragachchha who got a *jayapatra* from him by defeating one Padmaprabha in discussion.

² *Asmāññih karadam vyadhāyi Himavad-Vindhyāntarālaṁ bhuvaḥ |*
śeṣasvīkaranāya māstu bhavatāmudyogasūnyam manah ||

(Siwalik Pillar inscription, 3, V, 2).

instead of grieving when he heard of the Chauhān ruler's defeat and death at the hands of the Muslims.¹

Pr̥thvīrāja was not, we fear, also without a large share of good-natured indolence. He could be active when he chose, as active perhaps as the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn who, within the course of a few months, conquered the greater part of the empire of Gujarāt. But he could also be equally lazy. We have already criticized his conduct subsequent to the first battle of Tarāin. His conduct in the second battle was even worse. He under-estimated the strength of his opponents, and believed, like a novice, the words of Muhammad Ghori, without keeping in view what the Sultan had done at Uchchh and Lahore.² He was not inexperienced in the line of night-attacks, for he had himself led one against Dhārāvārṣa Paramāra. So he should have remained on the look-out for some such action on the part of an enemy, ruthless and determined, and as skilful as himself. But he passed instead the whole night in revelry, and was fast asleep, perhaps, sleeping off the effects of a night's waking and Saturnalia. Such conduct on the part of a general, however strong or able he might be, and that too on the eve of an important engagement, deserved the loss of an empire and all the power that he had. 'The earth is to be enjoyed by the heroic and the ever-wakeful', state the writers on Indian politics, and the behaviour that preceded the second battle of Tarāin was neither that of a hero nor of a great general, awake to all the possibilities and probabilities of warfare, but that of a novice in the part of finesse and a common reveller who 'with his intellectual faculties clouded with the vice of sleep was', states Lakṣmīdhara, 'killed in the engagement because he was (as good as) dead though alive'.³

¹ See the *Purāṇanaprabandhasaṅgraha*, pp. 86 and 89.

² At Uchchh he had the ruler poisoned by his queen. He put the Ghaznavite Kusrav Mālīk in prison after promising him a safe conduct. (See the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, I, pp. 455-457.)

³ See above, footnote 4, p. 69.

PATAÑJALI AND HIS RELATION TO SOME AUTHORS AND WORKS

By K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA

I. PARAMĀRTHASĀRA OF ŚEṢANĀGA

The Paramārthasāra of Śeṣanāga, otherwise called the Ādhāra-kārikās and the Āryāpañcāśīti, is a work pertaining to a Śeśvara (Vaiṣṇava) and Idealistic type of Śāṅkhya philosophy, which is found treated in the Mahābhārata, Manusmṛitā and the Purāṇas, and which is divided from the Advaita of later times only by a faint line. The exact date of the work is unknown, but there is no doubt that it is very ancient. Similarities of both thought and language between this and the Gauḍapāḍakārikā suggest that the latter owes much to the former.

There are many editions¹ of the work. There is also an English translation by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. The Paramārthasāra of Abhinava is a Śaiva adaptation of Śeṣanāga's work. Dr. Barnett's² view that the former, i.e. the Śaiva work, is the original of the latter is not correct.³ The adaptation has been published with an English translation by Dr. Barnett.

Tradition has often been the bane of ancient Indian history. It makes even modern scholars sometimes disregard historical and literary evidence. For instance, there is a good deal of difference both in thought and language between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara. The language of the former is clearly of an earlier stratum. He is a votary of not only the Brahmādvaita but also of the Śabdlādvaita of Bhartṛhari, and has written separate works on these. But the language of Sureśvara is definitely of a later stratum, and he does not evince any interest in Bhartṛhari's philosophy. Yet much ink has been spilt by some over the problem of their identity without taking this evidence into consideration. Attempts have been made to identify both on the basis of an unhistorical tradition, which was concocted to make Śaṅkara a unique hero who

¹ Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 12; Pandit, Vol. V; by Pattisapu Venkatesvarudu, in Telugu script, 1907; by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, with translation, Karnataka Publishing House, Bombay

² See J.R.A.S., 1910, pp. 707 seq.

³ See J. C. Chatterji, Kashmir Śaivism, pp. 12-14; S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, New Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, pp. 37 seq. and Introduction to his edition.

vanquished in debate such great thinkers as Kumārila and Maṇḍana. On the other side, Mādhyas believe that Vyāsa gave darśana to Ānandatīrtha ! It is high time that scholars relegated all this sort of stuff to the realm of mythology when it is not substantiated by historical evidence.

A similar tradition has gathered round the great Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya. It makes him the author of several other works also, namely, the Yogasūtra, the Caraka, the Nidāna-sūtra, the Chandaḥsūtra and the Paramārthasāra. I am here concerned only with the last two of these.

As observed already, the philosophy expounded in the Paramārthasāra of Śeṣanāga is very akin to Advaitic Idealism. The Māyā doctrine is here accepted, and the world is considered an illusion. There might be minor differences, but they do not alter its fundamentals. It is, however, greatly different from the Realistic and Atheistic system of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. For instance, compare—

मृगतृष्णायामुदकं शुक्तौ रजतं भुजङ्गमो रज्ज्वाम् ।

तैमिरिकचन्द्रयुगवद्भ्रान्तं निखिलं जगद्भ्रमम् ॥¹

Scholars who attribute the work to Patañjali, the grammarian, have not taken into consideration the evidence of the Mahābhāṣya on the problem. I propose to do it here.

There is no evidence in the Mahābhāṣya for Patañjali's having held the view which is contained in the Paramārthasāra. Nowhere does Patañjali speak of the world as illusion, though there could have been many occasions for it. On the other hand, he appears to be a Realist, a Satkāryavādin. There is ample evidence for this. In Paspasā he gives us his view of matter. To him it is either *Kūṭasthanīya* or *Pravāhanīya*. In either case he turns out to be only a Satkāryavādin and not an Anirvacanīyatāvādin. Says he there:

द्रव्यं हि नित्यमाकृतिरनित्या ।

आकृतिरन्या चान्या च भवति । द्रव्यं पुनस्तदेव ॥

* अथवा नेदमेव नित्यलक्षणं भ्रुवं कूटस्थमविचाल्यनपायोपजनविकार्यनुत्पत्त्यदृश्यायोगि यत्तन्नित्यमिति । तदपि नित्यं यस्मिंस्तत्त्वं न विहन्यते । किं पुनस्तत्त्वम् । तद्भावस्तत्त्वम् । आकृतावपि तत्त्वं न विहन्यते ।²

Although Patañjali here gives us a two-fold view of his Realism, a closer examination reveals that he is more inclined towards Pra-

¹ Paramārthasāra, verse 22.

² Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 7.

vāhanityatā than Kūṭasthanityatā. This is evident from the following where he speaks of the perpetual changes of the Bhāvas:—

सर्वाश्च पुनर्मूर्तय एवमात्मिकाः संख्याप्रसवगुणाः शब्दस्पर्शरूपरसगन्धवत्ताः ।
यन्नाल्पीयांसो गुणास्तत्रावस्तस्त्वयः शब्दः स्पर्शो रूपमिति । रसगन्धौ न सर्वत्र । प्रवृत्तिः
खल्वपि नित्या । नह्येह कश्चित्स्वस्मिन्नात्मनि सुहृत्तमप्यवतिष्ठते । वर्धते वा यावदनेन
वर्धितव्यमप्रायेण वा युज्यते । तच्चोभयं सर्वत्र ॥ ¹

This Realistic conception of matter can hardly fit in with the Idealism of the Paramārthasāra. Patañjali uses the term 'Ātman' simply to mean 'Dravya'. He does not use it in its metaphysical, i.e., Advaitic sense. Compare—

एकोऽयमात्मोदकं नाम । तस्य गुणभेदादन्यत्वं भवति । अन्यदिदं शीतमन्य-
दिदमुष्णमिति ॥ ²

At another place he speaks of two Ātmans, the Antarātman and the Śarirātman. Here also the term is not used in the Advaitic sense :

दावात्मानान्तरात्मा शरीरात्मा च । अन्तरात्मा तत्कर्म करोति येन शरीरात्मा
सुखदुःखे अनुभवति । शरीरात्मा तत्कर्म करोति येनान्तरात्मा सुखदुःखे अनुभवति । ³

It is impossible to believe that the author of the Paramārthasāra used this term in the above sense. It occurs several times in that work (Paramārthasāra), but always in the Absolutistic sense.

Such non-existent things as the sex of the inanimate are compared by Patañjali to mirage and Gandharvanagara:

असत्तु मृगटुष्णावत् ।

असत्तु खट्वाटक्षयोर्लिङ्गं द्रष्टव्यम् । कथं पुनरसन्नाम लिङ्गं शक्यं द्रष्टुम् । मृगटुष्णावत् ।
तद्यथा । मृगास्तृषिता अपां धाराः पश्यन्ति न च ताः सन्ति ।

गन्धर्वनगरं यथा—

यथा गन्धर्वनगराणि दूरतो दृश्यन्त उपस्थित्य च नोपलभ्यन्ते तदखट्वाटक्षयोरसत्लिङ्गं
द्रष्टव्यम् । ⁴

Here the sex of Khaṭvā, Vṛkṣa, etc., which is non-existent, is compared to mirage. Patañjali does not compare the world to it. But in the verse quoted above, the Paramārthasāra does. The difference in view is striking. There is also another point to be

¹ Pāṇini 4. I. 3.

³ *Ibid.*, 3. I. 87.

² Pāṇini I. I. I.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4. I. 3.

considered. The Paramārthasāra begins with an invocation to Viṣṇu. Śeṣanāga's allegiance to some form of Vaiṣṇava faith is obvious throughout the work. The Mahābhāṣya, however, does not invoke any deity, nor is there anywhere in it allegiance shown to a particular deity or faith. That the use of 'Atha' at the beginning is, according to commentators, for Maṅgala is quite a different matter. A good deal more of internal evidence of this kind can be adduced against the identity of the authors of the Mahābhāṣya and the Paramārthasāra; but I think what I have given here is sufficient to prove the difference. We shall now take up an important piece of external evidence.

It is well known that Bhartṛhari wrote his great work, the Vākya-pādiya, to elaborate the philosophic portions of the Mahābhāṣya. He is one of the greatest Advaitic thinkers. It is a sad fact that our historians of Indian philosophy have failed to note this. He is one who gave a definitely Idealistic turn to grammatical speculations. The whole of the first part of his work, namely, the Brahmakāṇḍa, is especially concerned with this. The commentary on this, published from Benares, is by the author himself. In the commentary sometimes he refers to earlier authorities. Speaking of Monism he says:—

इदं केनो न कश्चिद्वा बुद्धदो वा न कश्चन ।

मायैवा बत दुष्पारा विपश्चिदिति पश्यति ॥¹

Vṛṣabhadeva² in his commentary on this points out that this couplet belongs to Śaṣṭitantra. Here it is for the first time that a couplet containing the philosophy of Śaṣṭitantra in a nut-shell is made known to scholars. There has been speculation regarding this ancient Sāṃkhya philosophy, but no writer has hitherto taken note of this citation.³ From this it is evident that there was a work either of the name of Śaṣṭitantra (this is very probable) or

¹ I. 8.

² Adyar Library Transcript (38. 9. 20), p. 95 :

वहितन्त्रपञ्चायम् । यावदभ्यपूजयदिति दृश्यमानस्य तुच्छतामाह । केन इति वस्तुतद्वाचमात्रं

* कथितम् । परमार्थतो निष्पन्नं तदपि नास्तीत्याह ॥

³ See Keith, Sāṃkhya System, p. 69. Keith disagreeing with Garbe, suggests that Śaṣṭitantra was not a special work but 'a term for the Sāṃkhya philosophy as a system of sixty principles'. M. Hiriyanna in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, 1929, pp. 107-108 seq., gives some useful information. The couplet brought to light here proves that there was a work on this Śaṣṭitantra philosophy. On Sāṃkhyakārikās of Īśvarakṛṣṇa see Tilak, *Vedic Chronology and Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa*, pp. 109 seq.; S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, *Introduction to Sāṃkhyakārikā*, Madras University (1935).

pertaining to the system of philosophy perhaps known as such, and that the philosophy which it expounded was of a Monistic type, very akin to that of the Paramārthasāra, but different from that of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. The extent to which Īśvarkṛṣṇa has modified the philosophy of Śaṣṭitantra in his condensation may also be guessed from this. We can even go a step further and point out the similarity between the quotation from the Śaṣṭitantra and the following from the Paramārthasāra :

हिमपेनबुद्बुदा इव जलस्य धूमो यथा वह्नेः ।

तद्वत्त्वभावभूता मायैषा कौर्त्तिता विष्णोः ॥ ¹

This suggests that the latter (Paramārthasāra) probably borrowed its ideas from the Śaṣṭitantra and is based on that.

The question now confronting us is this: How is it that Bhartṛhari, who strives to give an Idealistic turn to grammatical speculations and quotes from the Śaṣṭitantra, does not quote a single verse from the Paramārthasāra? Bhartṛhari is so much devoted to Patañjali that for those who have studied his Vākyapadiya closely, it is impossible to believe that he quietly ignored the philosophic work (Paramārthasāra) of his great author Patañjali while he strove to read philosophy into every line of the Mahābhāṣya and quoted in support of his thesis from the works of others. How is it that Helārāja, who often discourses on the nature of Avidyā, does not refer to this work? There have been many early critics (Śabara, for example) of Patañjali, the great grammarian; but none attributes the view contained in the Paramārthasāra to him. It is only later writers who started the tradition that this was the work of the grammarian. Even among later writers there is one who has not erred. In his Laghusiddhāntamañjūsā Nāgeśa cites many verses from this work, and these he ascribes to an author called Śeṣanāga.* He does not say that these are by Patañjali. The correct name of the author, therefore, seems to be Śeṣanāga and not Śeṣa or Ādiśeṣa. Śeṣa is an abbreviation of Śeṣanāga, while Ādiśeṣa seems to be the name given by the tradition which identifies him with Patañjali, who is said to have been an incarnation of Viṣṇu's serpent Śeṣa. From what has been said above, it will be clear that Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya, is not the author of the Paramārthasāra.

¹ Verse 56.

² See Chowkhamba ed., p. 259. The Laghusiddhāntamañjūsā is of great help to understand the Idealism of the Paramārthasāra. Vide the section बोधार्थस्य वाच्यत्वनिर्णयम् ।

A hitherto unknown commentary on the Paramārthasāra

In this connection I would like to draw the attention of scholars to an hitherto unknown commentary on the Paramārthasāra of Śeṣanāga. The one that is now known is by Rāghavānanda yati. This is published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.¹ In the Adyar Library there is a palm-leaf MS. (22. o. 22) of this commentary in Grantha script. Here the commentary on verses 57, 64, 74-78, 80, 81, 83-86 is missing. A later hand fills up these gaps from a different commentary. The concluding portion and the colophon belong to this latter commentary. The colophon ascribes it to Svayaṃprakāśa:—

.....हंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यस्वयंप्रकाश.....पञ्चाशीतिव्याख्यानं संपूर्णम् ॥

Unfortunately only bits used for filling up the gaps in the other commentary are available. It is not hitherto known to scholars that Svayaṃprakāśa has written a commentary on this work. As a specimen I give here this newly discovered commentary on verse 57:

एवं मायास्वरूपं निरूप्य ब्रह्मभावनाप्रकारं तिष्ठभिगार्याभिराह—

एवं हैतविकल्पां भ्रमस्वरूपां विमोहिनीं मायाम् ।

उत्सृज्य सकलनिष्कलमहैतं भावयेद्ब्रह्म ॥ ५७ ॥

चेतनाचेतनात्मकविवधरूपां विमोहिनीं विशेषेण मोहकारीं भ्रमस्वरूपां भ्रान्तिरूपां मायां हैतविकल्पामविद्यारूपामुत्सृज्य सकलं सगुणभूतं निष्कलं निर्गुणरूपं च अहैतं द्वयोर्भावो हिता दितयैव हैतं स्वार्थे व्यग्रप्रत्ययः । नाहैतमहैतम् । ‘एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म’ इति श्रुतेः । * एवं-भूतं ब्रह्म भावयेत् । ‘ब्रह्मविद्ब्रह्मैव भवति’ इति श्रुतेः । अहं ब्रह्मास्मीति भावनां कुर्यादित्यर्थः ॥ ५७ ॥

One important point to be noted with regard to this is that it has one additional verse in its text which is as follows:

त्यक्त्वा सर्वविकल्पानात्मस्थं निश्चलं मनः कृत्वा ।

दग्धेन्धनवदग्निः सर्वगतात्मा भवेच्छान्तः ॥

This verse, 76th according to this commentary, is not found in the text commented upon by Rāghavānanda and published in the Trivandrum Series. The text of some of the verses commented upon by Svayaṃprakāśa contains variants to the text adopted by Rāghavānanda. Rāghavānanda's commentary in this MS. contains better and correct variants to the Trivandrum edition.

II. ŚABARA

Some scholars who have had to deal with the date of Śabara are not sure if he knew Patañjali. For instance, V. A. Ramaswami Sastri in his Introduction to Tattvabindu¹ observes: 'He has not, however, mentioned Patañjali by name as he has done Pāṇini and Kātyāyana'. This might suggest that Patañjali was not known to Śabara; but there is enough evidence in the Śābarabhāṣya on Autpattikasūtra (Jaimini I. I. 5) to prove that the author was well acquainted with the Mahābhāṣya:

अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः ।

शब्दादर्थं प्रतिपद्यामहे इति लौकिकं वचनम् । अथ गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य कोऽर्थः ।
साक्षादिविशिष्टाकृतितिरिति ब्रूमः । नन्वाकृतिः साध्यास्ति वा न वा ।

आकाशदेशश्च शब्दः । एकं च पुनराकाशः ।²

These and similar other sentences would strike even a casual reader of the Śābarabhāṣya as repetition of Patañjali and no direct evidence is, in fact, needed to prove that Śabara knew the Mahābhāṣya. This cannot be explained away as an accidental coincidence in language. There is also another evidence which places it beyond doubt that Śabara knew the Mahābhāṣya. This has not been noted so far by those who doubt Śabara's knowledge of Patañjali. In his Bhāṣya on आकृतित्वे क्रियार्थत्वात्³ Śabara says:

अस्तु विशेषणत्वेनाकृतिं वक्ष्यति विशेष्यत्वेन व्यक्तिम् । न ह्याकृतिपदार्थकस्य व्यक्तिर्न पदार्थो व्यक्तिपदार्थकस्य वा नाकृतिः । उभयमुभयस्य पदार्थः । नैतदेवम् ॥

It is Patañjali who says न ह्याकृतिपदार्थकस्य द्रव्यं न पदार्थो द्रव्यपदार्थकस्य वाकृतिर्न पदार्थः । उभयोर्द्वयस्य पदार्थः । कस्यचित्तु किञ्चित्प्रधानभूतं किञ्चिदुपभूतम्.... ॥ etc. in the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini I. 2. 64. The Śābarabhāṣya referred to above is a direct criticism of this Mahābhāṣya. Śabara could not have cited the passage (alterations insignificant) from the Mahābhāṣya and criticized it if he had not known the work. The conclusion is therefore obvious that he knew the Mahābhāṣya. So,

¹ P. 21.

² See Śabara on I. I. 15. Compare with these the Mahābhāṣya: अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः (Kielhorn's ed., Vol. I, p. 1). अथवा प्रतीतपदार्थकः । लोके ध्वनिः शब्द इत्युच्यते (p. 1). किं यत्तत्साक्षात्प्राप्तकृतद्वयविषयार्थकं च शब्दः (p. 1). द्रव्यं हि नित्यमाकृतितिरिति etc. (p. 7) आकाशादेशश्च शब्दः । एकं च पुनराकाशम् (p. 18).

³ I. 3. 33.

the absence of mention of Patañjali by Śabara cannot be taken as evidence that the latter did not know the former.

III. PĪṄGALANĀGA

Another author who is sometimes identified¹ with Patañjali is Pīṅgalanāga, the author of the Chandaḥsūtra. The tradition, which says that Patañjali was an incarnation of Śeṣa the serpent and which sees the word Nāga in the name of Pīṅgalanāga, was perhaps responsible for this identification. There is, however, not a bit of evidence to support this identity. In his Bhāṣya on 1. 1. 5 Śabara refers to Pīṅgalanāga in connection with the Chandaḥśāstra. But while criticizing the Mahābhāṣya he does not mention by name Patañjali who holds views which are not acceptable to him. In other words, he does not show so much regard to Patañjali as he does to Pīṅgala, because the views held by the grammarian are against those of the Mīmāṃsakas. This is the evidence that he regards the two as different. As between Patañjali and Pīṅgala, undoubtedly Patañjali is earlier. Pīṅgala uses the symbolic method of notation (e.g. Vasu = 8) which, as evidence stands at present, was unknown to Patañjali. It cannot also be believed that the dry aphorisms of the work on metrics are by Patañjali whose Mahābhāṣya is unique in simplicity and vigour. Moreover, if Patañjali and Pīṅgala were one and the same author, the Chandaḥsūtra could not fail to cover the metre of the following verse which Patañjali quotes in the Mahābhāṣya :

स्तोत्र्याम्यहं पादिकमौदवाहिं ततः श्रोभूते प्रातर्नीं पातर्नीं च ।

नेतारावागच्छतं घारणिं रावणिं च ततः पश्चात्खंस्यते ध्वंस्यते च ॥

The metre of this verse is not defined in the Chandaḥsūtra. I am therefore inclined to believe that Patañjali and Pīṅgala were not the same, Pīṅgala having flourished later than Patañjali when the above metre was not in vogue.

IV. RĀMĀYAṆA

In the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 1. 3. 1 and 3. 1. 67 Patañjali quotes the following Ślokapāda :

एति जीवन्तमानन्दः ।

¹ See the Bhūmikā to the edition of the Chandaḥsūtra by Viswanatha Sastri, Calcutta, Sāṃvat 193.

In the Rāmāyaṇa ¹ of Vālmīki we have—

कल्याणी बत गाथेयं लौकिकी प्रतिभाति मे ।

एति जीवन्तमागन्दो नरो वर्षशतादपि ॥

From this some scholars ² conclude that Patañjali knew the Rāmāyaṇa in its present form and that he quotes from it. This, however, is not correct. The verse, of which only a quarter is quoted by Patañjali, is quoted fully by Kāśikā on Pāṇini 2. 3. 53. Here the reading of the second half is (as evidenced by most MSS. of the work) as follows:

जीव पुत्रक मा मैवं तपःसाहसमाचर ।

This is not the reading of the second half in the Rāmāyaṇa. As a grammatical work, Kāśikā should be quoting from the same source as Patañjali. That source, however, cannot be the present Rāmāyaṇa, as the reading of the second half of the verse there is quite different. It must be some other work which we do not know at present. It is therefore wrong to assume on the basis of the citation in the Mahābhāṣya that Patañjali knew the present Rāmāyaṇa. Moreover, the Rāmāyaṇa refers to the saying (एति जीवन्तमागन्दो नरं वर्षशतादपि) as a Laukika, i.e. a popular one. This shows that it was already current in its days. Hence it must be from an earlier source. Such words as kāpeya, etc. which occur in the Mahābhāṣya are no evidence that Patañjali knew the Rāmāyaṇa in its present form.

Postscript: In a MS. of it in the Anup Sanskrit Library Paramārthasāra is attributed to Kātyāyana. This wrong association of Kātyāyana with the work has its origin probably in the wrong association of Patañjali with it. As already observed, the true author is one Śeṣanāga. That the name Śeṣanāga was in vogue in ancient India is proved by at least one more instance of its use. There is a MS. of Somākara's Jyotiṣabhāṣya in the Anup Sanskrit Library. It is about three hundred years old. Here this work is ascribed to a Śeṣanāga.

In conclusion I should say that scholars will do well to study the Mahābhāṣya carefully before they rush to conclusions regarding the great Patañjali.

¹ Sundarakāṇḍa 34. 6 and Yuddhakāṇḍa 129. 1.

² See Introduction to the Nirṇaya Sagar ed. of the Mahābhāṣya (Navāhnikā), p. 12, footnote.

MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON THE LAST YEARS OF AŚOKA

Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar apparently espouses the theory propounded by Prof. Hemachandra Raychaudhuri on page 304 of *Political History of India* (4th ed.). Prof. Raychaudhuri contends that Aśoka had given up the aggressive militarism of his forefathers and had evolved a policy of Dharmavijaya which must have seriously impaired the military efficiency of his empire. It is, therefore, not at all suprising, says he, that the *rois faineants* who succeeded to the imperial throne of Pāṭaliputra proved unequal to the integrity of the mighty fabric reared by the genius of Chandragupta and Chāṇakya. We do not quite understand why Aśoka's pacifist policy weakend the aggressive militarism of his forefathers and was thus in any way responsible for the downfall of the Mauryan empire. May I in this connection draw the attention of scholars to what the late Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda has said in *Archaeological Memoir*, No. 30, p. 70: 'Aśoka's Dharmavijaya or the conquest of the world through Dharma is not a missionary movement, but a definite imperial policy—it is Mauryan imperialism perfectly pacified. The Maurya imperialism was an upshot of the Achaemenan imperialism and Aśoka built his policy on that basis.' If we understand the late Rai Bahadur correctly, we have to admit that this Dharmavijaya perpetuated the friendly relations between the Mauryan and the Seleucid and other Hellenic houses from generation to generation. Personally I am of opinion that the Mauryan empire would have disappeared much earlier if Aśoka had not launched upon this policy of Dharmavijaya. As the Mauryan dynasty lasted for six generations after Aśoka, we cannot understand how Aśoka's pacifist policy weakened the Mauryan supremacy. Third in descent from Aśoka is Śāliśūka (206 B.C.) who is apparently so named after Seleucus and is Sophagasenos of Polybius. He also is represented to have revived the policy of Dharmavijaya and yet met Antiochus III quite alright on the north-west Indian frontier. The passage referring to this king runs as follows: 'He (Antiochus III) crossed the Caucasus and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenos, the King of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army.' This renewal of friendship, with the present of elephants, reminds us of the classic meeting of Seleucus I

and Chandragupta on the Indian frontier, more than a century ago, which developed into an alliance bringing the two imperial families so intimately together. If the whole passage of Polybius is interpreted dispassionately, it clearly shows that a relation of perfect amity and concord persisted between the Mauryan and Seleucid dynasties up till 206 B.C. in consequence of the Dharma-vijaya policy of Aśoka and Śāliśūka (Sophagasenos).

S. C. SIRCAR.

KAUMUDĪMAHOTSAVA

III

Assuming Vijjakā to be the author of the drama, we have now to find out to what part of the country and to which class she belonged. Both the internal and external evidence found on these points is meagre. We have seen above, how a poetess called Vijjakā assumed the sobriquet Sarasvatī and rebuked Daṇḍin for ignoring her. She has been called a Karṇāṭī in the following verse of Rājaśekhara, which is also found in Sūkti-muktāvalī, Subhāshita-hārāvalī and Śārṅgadhara-paddhati. It runs as follows:—

Sarasvat = īva Karṇāṭī Vijayāṅkā jayaty = asāu |
yā Vaidarbha-girāṃ vāsaḥ Kālīdāsād = anantaram ||

In these lines the learned woman who was like Sarasvatī is said to belong to Karṇāṭa and is described as the abode of the Vaidarbhī diction since the time of Kālīdāsa.

The following lines may be taken as giving a further indication of her identity.

Eko bhūn = nalināt = tataś = cha pulinād = valmīkataś = c-āparas = te sarve kavayo bhavanti guravas = tebhyaḥ namas-kurmahe | Arvāṅco yadī gadyapadya-racanaiś = cetaś = camat-kurvate teṣāṃ mūrdhni dadāmi vāmacaraṇaṃ Karṇāṭa-rāja-priyā ||

Here the composer of this poem is replete with self-praise, and she describes herself as the beloved of the king of Karṇāṭa. In one Nerur copper-plate grant we have the name of a queen called Viśvabhāṭṭārikā, the wife of Chandrāditya, eldest son of Pulakeśin II, the conqueror of Harṣavardhana and brother of Vikramāditya I. It runs thus: 'Paramēśvaratām = a-nivārita-Vikra-

mādityah ॥ Tasya jyestha-bhrātuh śrī-Candrāditya-prthivīvallabha-mahārājasya priyamahiṣī Vijayabhattachārikā ॥' In a Kocre grant again this queen-consort of the Mahārājādhirāja Candrāditya is described as *Boddi-podhi* which has probably to be corrected into *Bodhi-podhi* and taken to mean 'Alligator of intelligence or wisdom'.

So this learned Queen of Kārṇāṭa seems to be in all possibility the Vijjakā of our drama who indulged in that light pleasantry in referring to the description of Sarasvatī by Daṇḍin.

It is therefore no wonder if she has skilfully given herself the first and foremost place in the verse:

Jayati prathamam Vijayā jayanti devāḥ svayam Mahādēvaḥ ।
śrīmantaṁ bhagavantāṁ = Anta-Nārāyaṇaṁ jayataḥ ॥

Act IV, verse 19.

Of course, Vijayā must here primarily mean the goddess Vijayā who ushers in the festivity of the Śarat or Autumnal season. This point we have dwelt upon in one of our previous notes. It cannot, however, be doubted that this verse is impregnated with *double entendre*. It is, therefore, natural that she should push her name forward in the list of the gods comprised in the verse. But there is, perhaps, a second trace of her autobiography contained in the third stanza of the drama which reads as follows:—

Kṛṣṇasārām kaṭākṣeṇa kṛṣṇīvala-kiśorikā ।
karōṭy = eṣā kar-āgreṇa karṇē kalama-mañjarīm ॥

This verse also has two senses. According to the first, a peasant maid is referred to with glances resembling those of a black antelope and decorating her ears with corn sprouts with her fingers. This meaning is clear enough. But perhaps we shall not be wrong if we think that this stanza is susceptible of another sense also. The words *karṇē kalama-mañjarīm* are important in this connection, because they refer by implication to some writer who was in the habit of resting his or her pen behind the ear with the finger as many of the modern writers do. If our surmise is not a far-fetched one, probably *kṛṣṇīvala-kiśorikā* must be interpreted to give a second sense also. This is not impossible if 'Kṛṣṇīvala' is taken as the name of her father. As a matter of fact the name is found in Mahābhārata. Nothing is known of the native place of Vijayabhattachārikā, queen-consort of Candrāditya. It may be that she belonged to Eastern India and was married to a prince of a Chālukya family somewhere in the Deccan.

May we further conjecture that she composed this drama in North India at Pāṭaliputra before her marriage, when Kalyāṇa-

varman was reinstated on the throne. Vijayabhaṭṭārikā belongs to about the middle of the seventh century A.D. and to me it appears that the political scene portrayed in the drama pertains to that epoch. The Licchavis were still in existence about that time and even later as the Nepal Inscriptions published by Bhagavanlal Indrajit clearly show.

SAKUNTALA RAO SASTRI.

BALA VERSUS PUSHYAMITRA

In my short note on Kṛta (*Above*, Vol. IX, pp. 186-87), I drew the attention of the scholars to the *Maukhari Inscriptions* (E.I., Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 & ff.), published by Prof. A. S. Altekar. Although he is a Sanskrit scholar of great repute, he has unfortunately fallen into a blunder in regard to the translation of those inscriptions. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Editor, had therefore to correct it. 'According to the text' says the latter 'Mōkharēḥ and Śrī-mahā-senāpatēḥ would refer to each of the three brothers and not to their father Bala. Since all the three bear the title of *Mahā-senāpati*, it is to be presumed that it was meant to be only a title of nobility as in the inscriptions of the southern Ikṣvāku rulers' (*Ibid.*, p. 52, n. 8). We wish, this correction had been pointed out to Prof. Altekar by Dr. Chakravarti so that he would have been able to give the correct translation himself with thanks. As it is, he makes Bala, the head of the family, the *Mahāsēnāpati*. 'Sēnāpati, the title by which Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, was known even to posterity, is a humbler title than the one given to Bala in our records. Bala, therefore, may well have been more than a mere General.' Yet curiously enough Prof. Altekar remarks that he (Bala) does not seem to have been an independent ruler, although Pushyamitra, who was a mere *Sēnāpati*, and not a *Mahāsēnāpati* was an emperor. Will Prof. Altekar tell us how Bala stood against Pushyamitra in point of political status?

Another blunder which is of an egregious character is traceable in the quotation on page 46 from 'the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā* (VII. 15) where we read तदेतद्द्वयम्, etc., I am afraid the text quoted here is murdered and slaughtered. Will Prof. Altekar or Dr. Chakravarti oblige us with the correct quotation of the text?

S. C. SIRCAR.

REVIEWS

SOME ASPECTS OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION (in plant perspective),
by Girija Prasanna Majumdar. Published by the author from 19 Ekdalia
Place, Calcutta. Price not stated. Calcutta, 1938. Pp. vi+450.

Dr. Girija Prasanna Majumdar is well known to Indologists for his valuable studies in ancient Indian Botany, viz. *Vanaspati* (1927) and *Upavana-vinoda* (1935). In the present work he has attempted a more ambitious task, that of indicating 'how far plants and plant-products have served as the basis of certain material aspects of Indian civilization'. To illustrate the comprehensive plan of his undertaking, it will suffice to recapitulate the topics treated in the present volume which is offered 'as a sample of the kind of work' capable of being produced on the above lines. The preliminary chapter summarizing the contents of the first part of the *Vanaspati*, seeks to sum up with critical notices the widely scattered evidence regarding the Hindu achievements in the domain of Botanical science. We learn how the Hindus who called the science by a special name (*Vṛkṣāyurveda* or *Bhaiṣajya-vidyā*) were acquainted with the process of absorption, transport and assimilation of food materials by plants demonstrated by Hales in 1727 A.D. (p. 8) and that of circulation of the sap discovered by Harvey in the seventeenth century (p. 8). We also learn how Caraka anticipated Darwin's *gemmules* and Spencer's *ids* (p. 16) and the authors of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* and the *Sārṅgadhara-paddhati* forestalled Luther Burbank's attempt to create new and marvellous botanical species (p. 17). In the concluding chapter the author has culled from standard anthologies (*Sārṅgadhara-paddhati Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, *Subhāṣitāvalī* and *Subhāṣitaratnākara*) verses addressed to various trees and plants. The other chapters deal exhaustively with the topics severally entitled Food and Drinks, Dress, Toilet, Furniture, Conveyances, Trade and Commerce, Health and Hygiene, Hearth and Home, and lastly, Domestic Rites and Rituals.

No praise is too high for the industry with which the author has collected his materials from the most varied sources including not only the works of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit as well as Pali and the mediaeval Bengali literature, but also important secondary works including articles in periodicals. Equally praiseworthy are the frequent citations of original texts. The same remarks apply to the Bibliography, the Subject Index, and the Index of Sanskrit and Prakrit technical terms with which this useful volume is brought to a close.

We propose to make a few remarks. In case a new edition is called for, full use should be made of the valuable data comprised in the Sanskrit grammatical literature about which the author is almost completely silent. A systematic study of the Pāṇinian material is being published by Dr. V. S. Agravala in recent numbers of the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*. The Buddhist Sanskrit literature of which the author has made the scantiest use should also be fully utilized. Concrete illustrations from monuments should be used far more copiously than has been the case. The richness of this archaeological material is well illustrated by the recently published scholarly monograph of Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Museum* (Madras, 1942). Faulty editions and translations of texts like R. Shamasastri's edition and translation of the *Arthaśāstra* should be altogether discarded in favour of later authoritative publications. The old identifications of Suvarṇabhūmi with Burma (pp. 151, etc.), of certain Sāṅgi sculptures and Ajanta paintings as representations of the expedition of Vijaya

from Bengal to Ceylon with a retinue of 1500 men' (p. 152), of a panel of the Borobudur stupa as recording 'the story of the expedition of the Indian adventurers from Gujerat and colonization of Java about the year 603 A.D.' (p. 152) should be given up. The Bibliography also should be made more complete by the inclusion of such important papers as *The History of Indian Costume from the first century A.D. to the beginning of the fourth century* and *Cosmetics and Coiffure in Ancient India* by Dr Moti Chandra (JISOA, 1940). Above all, a systematic attempt should be made to trace as far as possible the sequence of development as well as decline in respect of the subject-matter of the volume.

U. N. GHOSHAL.

VYĀSA-SMṚITI (Vyavahāra Chapter), edited by Dr. Batakrişna Ghosh, D.Phil. (Munich), D Litt (Paris) Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., Bharati Mahavidyalaya, Calcutta

The book under review is a small volume of just 34 pages, containing 268 verses from *Vyāsa-Smṛiti*. The verses are collected from later works which cite passages from earlier works in a very profuse way. In the field of *Dharma Śāstra*, there are early *Sūtra* works, then the metrical *Smṛiti* works of a later stage and lastly the Digests. Only a few of the metrical *Smṛiti* works are available at present, Manu, Yājñavalkya, etc. being the best known among them. *Vyāsa-Smṛiti* must have been one of the many such metrical original *Smṛiti* works, assigned to the Sages. But the work is lost to us and all that we know about it is from the citations found in the Digests of the later days.

The large number of works found in the field of *Dharma Śāstra* proves that there was considerable activity among the thinkers of those days in defining and in interpreting Law. It may be that in most of the works, there is a good portion that is common. But that is the case with the vast literature on any subject even in modern times. It is not the case that every work contains completely new material; nor is such the position in modern literature also. Just as in our times jurists consult the views of a large number of authorities when they have doubts on a point, in ancient times also, various jurists gave their own interpretation on the important points and they were consulted in all matters of difficulty.

When legal literature expanded, Digests were prepared for easy reference and for comparative studies, and as a consequence, people began to depend on such Digests and the original works themselves went out of currency. In a large number of cases, the original works are not now available and all that we know about them is confined to what information is available in the latter-day Digests. It is impossible to fully reconstruct the lost works. But it is possible to collect and arrange in an orderly form all the material available in the case of the individual works. The present work is an attempt of that sort. It contains only the citations available in the *Vyavahāra* portion. Ancient *Smṛiti* works contained other subjects also like *Yajñārāṇika*, *Kālanirṇaya*, and *Prāyascitta*. The learned compiler has collected material on the various other portions of the *Smṛiti*, which if printed, would run into volumes, as he says in his prefatory note to the collection.

The material collected here is arranged under various headings beginning with *Vyavahārabhāda*, *nirṇayānirṇaya*, etc. The present reviewer is himself at present engaged in examining a large number of latter-day Digests, of which there are only single copies. It would have been a great help if the compiler had given an index of quarter-verses so that other scholars would find it easy to ascertain if a passage is already

There is much scope for improvement in printing. In many cases vowel marks and 'r' marks in combined letters have dropped out in printing as in यचिम् (verse 9), पचमर्थे (verse 32), प्रत्यर्थी (verse 29), etc. In a large number of cases, only half य and half व are given detached from the vertical stroke as in द्वेन (verse 35), नयेत् (verse 36), वंश (verse 53), etc.

The compiler has given footnotes in which readings are considered, besides giving the sources and other points of interest. But he has not added a note in cases like the faulty *Anuṣṭup* line in verse 83 (first line). There are cases where one is not sure whether it is a case of printing mistake or a case of scope for an improved reading, as in न्यायभाषितम् (verse 4) which can be improved into न्यायभाषिणम् and अप्रवासितः (verse 88) which can be improved into अप्रवासिनः. In printing it is always better to effect *Sandhi* between the first and second lines and between the third and fourth lines in a verse. I draw attention to the first half of verse 11 and the second half of verse 63. क्रमायातः for क्रमायातो in the middle of a line (verse 10) must be an oversight.

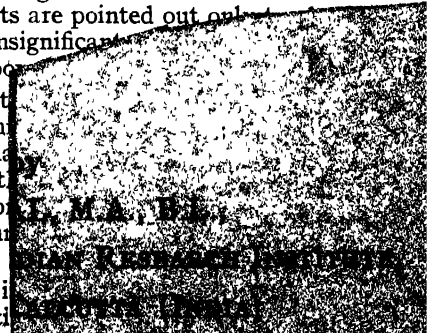
From two passages that are in prose, it is too much to assume that there was an original prose *Smṛti*, of which this is a later metrical adaptation (as is done by the editor). I know that there is a similar theory about the *Manusmṛti*. Of the two prose passages the first (verse 61) preserves the remnants of an original metre. Another possibility is that the work contained both prose and metrical passages. Further, one does not know what it is that could be called the *Vyāsa-Smṛti*. As the editor himself has to admit, many of the passages seem to have been taken from *Purāṇas* and not from a compact *Smṛti* work.

In the notes, the editor has gone into very minute details in a searching way. Thus even on the first verse, the editor raises a doubt about the plural number in the second word हेतुचरितैः. He presumes that from its concord with the first word प्रमाणैः one may take the two words to be noun and qualifying adjective and guards against the mistake. The plural in हेतुचरितैः can be explained in two ways. प्रमाणैः is given in the plural because there are three *Pramāṇas*, as given in the second verse. Similarly, *hetu* is either अनुमान or तर्क, and as such, there are two *hetus* and then there is *Carita*. Thus there are three items and the plural is justified. Or perhaps the reading should be प्रमाणहेतुचरितैः. After *Carita* in the first verse, one expects चरितं in the third verse instead of चरिच, but this is a very small point.

There are many publications that are hopelessly bad, impossible to improve, and in such cases, there is no meaning in pointing out defects. But in a work of the kind now under review, the few small defects are pointed out only because even a fastidious critic could detect only very insignificant ones. It is the attitude that I have taken when I make the above remarks.

The selections had already appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (1931) and in the *Journal for Indology and Iran*. It is a republication of the matter to make it available to all students of Sanskrit and who are not possibly acquainted with the English translation would have been quite appropriate. The Sanskrit only to a certain extent could have been given in the English rendering.

The standard of the editor is well reflected in his introduction. The *Śāstra* literature will surely regret his migration to the other world.



philologists may be happy over it. Being interested in both, I can only suggest that the editor would only expand his domain of scholarship to comprehend philology, without leaving off the *Dharma Śāstra* and other regions, for which certainly the editor has the needed capacity.

The other portions of the *Dharma Śāstra* literature is as interesting as the *Vyavahāra* portion and it is to be hoped that the entire material collected from Vyāsa would be made available for the use of students, instead of stopping with this small volume dealing with the *Vyavahāra* part.

The publishers deserve to be congratulated on having started the Law Series with such an important work, brought out by a scholar of Dr. Ghosh's reputation.

C. KUNHAN RAJA

NĀLANDĀ AND ITS EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL by Hirananda Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Lit., Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 66, 1942.

This Memoir deals particularly with the epigraphical material discovered at Nālandā since the excavations began in 1916. It also notices in general the sculptures recovered from the site during the same period. It contains not so much a scholarly as an official and authentic account of the important plaques, the seals, and the sculptures which are carefully classified and chronologically arranged wherever possible. All interested in the study of the antiquities hitherto brought to light by the excavation work undertaken by the Department of Archaeology, may use the Memoir as a reliable book of reference. The introduction fittingly presents an interesting historical account of Nālandā from the literary, epigraphic, and foreign sources.

B. M. B.

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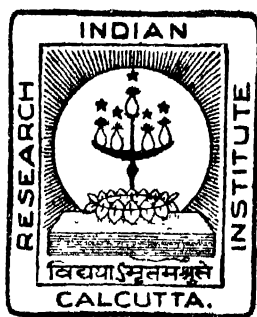
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Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Vol. IX, Part I, July, 1934).—This very admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the country by all those who are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient history of India and her great culture. The excellent character of this new Journal and the high standard of articles published in it, and the enterprise and devotion of the group of the Bengali scholars seem to make *Indian Culture* rightly and completely fill the great void created by the unfortunate discontinuance of the great epoch-making Journal, the *Indian Antiquary*. This new Journal, three numbers of which are before us, shows itself to be first class scientific periodical by the richness of its contents. Like the *Indian Antiquary*, it is hoped that this Journal also will be an impartial forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under the capable editorship of the distinguished and veteran savant Dr. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, who is assisted by willing and brilliant scholars like Dr. Barua and Dr. Bimala Churn Law. We heartily congratulate the management of the Journal on the high standard of excellence that is attained and hope that by means of unsparing devotion it will be maintained. There is no doubt that its appearance is a valuable addition to the number of scholarly journals published in India today. We wish it all success.

'FURTHER LIGHT ON THE DATE OF VIṢṆUPURĪ AND HIS BHAKTI-RATNĀVALI.'

By G. V. DEVASTHALI

In several MSS.² of Viṣṇupurī's (V) Bhakti-ratnāvali (Bhr) we get the following couplets giving the date of its composition as Śaka 1555 corresponding to the year 1633 of the Christian Era:--

महायज्ञप्रमाणप्रशङ्कगुणिते शके ।

पाशुने कृष्णपक्षस्य द्वितीयायां सुमङ्गले ॥ १ ॥

वागणस्यां महेशस्य सांनिध्ये हरिमन्दिरे ।

भक्तिरत्नावली सिद्धा सहिता कान्तिमालया ॥ २ ॥

And when these couplets are found in MSS. known to be generally accurate there seems ordinarily no reason to doubt the authenticity of the statements contained in these couplets also. In fact one is inclined to attach more weight to these internal statements than to anything else which would form only a piece of external evidence. When Dr. Eggeling was thus confronted with such conflicting pieces of evidence he felt extremely puzzled and was constrained to remark³ 'There is some difficulty in reconciling the date of the work (Śaka 1555, A.D. 1633-34, cf. Florent. MS.) with the date (Samvat 1662, A.D. 1595) of the present MS., which as far as appearance goes, one would hardly take to be more modern'. Evidently Dr. Eggeling for want of any direct and definite evidence was not in a position to go beyond this state of doubt and arrive at some definite conclusion in this matter. He, therefore, like a true cataloguer, satisfied himself by noting down the discrepancy for others to resolve.

It was felt even in the days of Dr. Eggeling that the couplets recording the date of the composition of V's Bhr. were of doubtful authenticity. But no definite statement to that effect could be made unless and until some strong piece of positive evidence was brought forward to prove the date of V and his Bhr. Attempts

¹ This paper was read at the twelfth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Benares in December 1943.

² Cf. Eggeling, Catalogue of the India Office MSS., No. 3535; The Bhadkamkar collection of MSS. now deposited in the Bombay University Library, Nos. 33.33 and 38.1 described by me in my Descriptive Catalogue under Nos. 1390-92, Velankar, Cat. of MSS. in the BBRAS Library, No. 1150; etc.

³ Cf. Catalogue of the India Office MSS. Part VI, p. 1272f

have, therefore, been made to determine the date of *V* and his *Bhr.* on the strength of some independent grounds.¹

Thus it has been shown that *V* must have lived much earlier than 1633 A.D., the year in which *Nābhāji* composed his *Bhaktamālā*. Reference has also been made to the Bengali version of the *Bhr.* which *Laudīya Kṛṣṇadāsa* is said to have composed in the fifteenth century A.D. A more definite piece of evidence is found in the metrical translation of the *Bhr.* into the Assamese made by *Mādhavadeva*, the chief disciple of *Śaṅkaradeva* (c. A.D. 1449-1509). This translation, we are told, was composed in the early part of the sixteenth century A.D.

All these pieces of evidence make it quite clear that *V*'s *Bhr.* can't be as late as it has been declared to be in the couplets quoted above. It is thus proved beyond all doubt that there is some mistake in the couplets in question and that we must look to some other sources to supply us with evidence to enable us to fix the date of *V*'s *Bhr.* and do so within as narrow limits as possible. For the authenticity of some of these pieces of evidence has been questioned.² And even on granting the authenticity of these all we can only say that *V*'s *Bhr.* must have been composed before the fifteenth century A.D., so that we are still left in the dark regarding the uppermost limit to which this date can be pushed back. An attempt is, therefore, made in the following lines to put forth other pieces of evidence which, as will be presently seen, would go a long way to settle the problem with greater certainty and within narrower limits.

A definite reference of an indubitable nature to *V*, as the author of the *Bhr.* is found in the *Gaurāṅga-gaṇoddeśa* (GG) which was composed by *Kavi Karnapūra* (KK) in '*sāke rasārasamite manu-naiva yukte*'. Dr. Eggeling³ understands this expression to signify Śaka 1466 corresponding to the year 1544 of the Christian Era, though the right date would be Śaka 1461 corresponding to 1539 A.D. 'This error is evidently due to a wrong understanding of the first word in the above expression, which he seems to have read as *rasa* instead of *rasā*. Even metrical considerations show that the word is to be read as *rasā* and not *rasa*. And the word *rasā* meaning the earth can be easily understood to signify one. KK may be said, therefore, to have composed his GG in 1539 A.D. Dr. De,⁴

¹ These have been very concisely summed up by B. K. Barua in *New Indian Antiquary*, Volume VI, No. 2, p. 39.

² See Dr. S. K. De, 'The Early History of the Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal', p. 24, note 1.

³ Cf. Catalogue of India Office MSS., No. 2510.

⁴ Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 34, note 3.

on the other hand, prefers the variant '*śāke vasugrahaṃule manunarva yurte*' and holds that the work was not written probably before 1576 A.D. He admits that the authenticity of this date is rendered doubtful by the existence of a variant reading. But he further argues that the elaborate accounts of the various incarnations of *Caitanya's* (C) disciples as associates of *Kṛṣṇa* in the *Vṛndāvana-līlā* only point to the extreme logical development of the *Vaiṣṇava* theory of incarnation and that the idea of the work was suggested by *Rūpa Goswāmin's* description of the *Gaṇas* of *Kṛṣṇa* so that the date 1576 given by the majority of MSS would appear to be more suitable for this alleged work of *KK*. Here, however, it must be remembered that so far as this work is concerned *KK* frankly admits¹ his indebtedness to several older works and authors, which shows that he is not responsible for the so-called extremely logical development which had already found expression in the works of older writers like *Svarūpa*. Nor does any ground seem to be left for the surmise that *KK's* work was suggested by and based upon *Rūpa Goswāmin's* description of the *gaṇas* of *Kṛṣṇa*. There seems then no ground left for rejecting the earlier date for the work of *KK*. And even if the later date is accepted as correct one may legitimately contend that the contents of the work in general are much older.

I have not devoted so much space to this question here for nothing. *Caitanya* (C), as we know, was born² at *Navadvīpa* in February 1496 and passed away³ in June-July 1533 A.D. This means that *KK* wrote his work only six years after the passing away of the great master, or that *KK* was almost a contemporary of C. We are also told that *KK* had not only personally met with C, but had also received personal favour from him.⁴ If thus *KK* was almost a contemporary of C, if he had personally come in contact

¹ Cf. ये विख्याताः परोक्षतः श्रोतव्यमहमम् ।

नित्यानन्दैतयोश्च तेषामपि मखीयसाम् ॥

गोपालानां च पूर्वाणि यानि नामानि कानिचित् ।

स्वस्वग्रन्थे स्वरूपाद्यैर्दृष्टितान्यादिस्वरिभिः ॥

विलोक्याभ्यानि साधूणां मयोरुपनिवासिनाम् ।

गौडोद्यानामपि मुखाग्रिग्रन्थे स्वमनीषया ।

विविधशब्दजितः कैश्चित् कश्चित् तानि लिखाम्यहम् ॥

--Jeggeling, Cat. of India Office MSS. No. 2510.

² Dr. De, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³ Dr. De, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁴ Dr. De, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

with him, and if he had composed his work only six years after the passing away of *C* would it not but be natural to conclude that the account of *C* as given by *KK* is undoubtedly authentic? It may readily be granted as sound principle to accept contemporary accounts as the most authentic of all, provided they do not come into conflict with other facts firmly established on strong positive grounds. Again even if we accept A.D. 1576 as the date of the composition of *KK*'s *GG* still it would not bar once for all the possibility of *KK* being fully acquainted with the history and life of *C*. And as will be pointed presently there are reasons to believe that *KK* took great pains to collect the material of his *GG* and try to make his account as complete and authentic as possible. Under these circumstances one can't brush off *KK*'s *GG* as being unauthentic unless there are very strong positive grounds for doing so.

But *KK*'s claims to authenticity have actually been set aside by some scholars on some such grounds as follows:—(i) *C*'s *guru-paramparā* is traced by *KK* in his *GG* in a list which is suspiciously similar to the list given by *Baladeva Vidyābhūṣana*, who belonged to the 18th century. (ii) In his *Caitanya-candrodaya* (*CC*) *KK* makes no reference to *Madhva* or his *ism*; nor is *Mādhvapurī* (*M*) referred to therein as a *Mādhva* ascetic. (iii) No reference is made by *KK* to *Madhva* or his *ism* even in his *Caitanya-carita-amṛta* (*CCA*). (iv) *C* is distinctly stated to have entered the monastic order of the *Advaita-vādins* in *KK*'s *CC*, Act V. (v) Neither *M* nor *Īśvarapurī* (*I*) is mentioned in the list of succession of the *Mādhva* High Priests prepared by Dr. Bhandarkar from original lists procured from Miraj, Belgaum, and Poona. (vi) There can be no doubt that the list of *Baladeva* (*B*) was made up for the occasion from hearsay and imagination. (vii) As the time of some of these *Mādhva Gurus* is well known, the historical accuracy of *KK*'s and *B*'s lists can be easily challenged. (viii) There is no direct claim for *Mādhva* affiliation in the authoritative works of *Chaitanyaism*.

All these arguments thus summarised have been put forth by Dr. De¹ to prove that *C* had nothing to do with *Madhvaism* in spite of the statements of *KK* to that effect. But if these arguments are valid to prove that much, they can also be rightly said to prove that *KK*'s account is all based on hearsay and imagination, and is, therefore, more ingenious than accurate. Let us, therefore, examine the validity of these arguments one by one.

The first argument, to say the least, is only idle; for what conclusion can be drawn from the fact that the list given by an

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 11f; and also notes 1, 2, and 3 on page 11; and note 1 on page 12.

author of the sixteenth century is suspiciously similar to the one prepared by another author belonging to the eighteenth? The latter may have borrowed from the former, or both may have borrowed from some common source. But that is not to say that the lists are not genuine or authentic. On the contrary if *KK* has drawn upon some older source, this latter can't but be more contemporary with *C*, and, will, on that account, have to be accepted as being more authentic. The first of the above-mentioned arguments, therefore, does nothing to show that *KK*'s account is only ingenious and hence not authentic.

A careful perusal of *KK*'s introductory verses in his *GG* shows what care *KK* has taken to make his account as perfect as possible. His father, *Śivānanda*,¹ was one of the chief disciples or associates of *Caitanya*. *KK* himself was initiated into Caitanyaism before he composed his *GG*.² Before composing the *GG* he had also seen all the older *sādhus* not only from *Gauḍa*, but also from *Mathurā* and *Uḍra*. Nor did he rest satisfied with the information thus orally obtained from the various elderly persons. He also looked into the works of older authors like *Svarūpa*.³ All this information given by *KK* himself regarding the way in which he tried to gather information for his work and also the way in which he set to work upon the information thus gathered shows clearly that his account must have been very carefully and critically set forth by *KK*, and deserves, therefore, to be more authentic than anything else.

The argument from silence of *KK* about *Madhva* and his *ism* in his earlier works is again inconclusive. If the date of the composition of the *GG* as understood above is right we shall have to admit *GG* as being earlier than the *CC* and the *CCA* which were composed in A.D. 1572⁴ and 1542⁵ respectively. But even if the *GG* is accepted as a work of a later date it is difficult to see the

¹ Cf. पितरं श्रीशिवानन्दं सेनवंशप्रदीपकम् ।

वन्देऽहं परया भक्त्या पार्षदाय्यं मन्त्राग्रभोः ॥

Śivānanda is regarded as occupying a high position among the disciples of *Caitanya*; see *Murāri*, iv, 17, 6; *Vṛndāvanadāsa*, Antya v and x, etc.; cf. De, *op. cit.*, p. 32, note 1.

² Cf. नत्वा श्रीपरमानन्ददासः सेवितश्चात्मनः ।

³ Cf. note 1.

⁴ The *Caitanya-candrodaya* is said to have been composed in A.D. 1572 at the command of *Gajapati Pratāpa-rudra* of Orissa. But as this *Pratāpa-rudra* is said to have died in 1540, the accuracy of the above date becomes questionable. And if, as is asserted by Dr. De, this Drama is quoted in the *GG* it will perhaps have to be admitted as the earlier work of *KK*.

⁵ See De, *op. cit.*, p. 33, note 2.

cogency of the argument. For silence about an idea in an earlier work can't invariably be accepted as falsifying a statement made by the same author regarding that idea in any of his subsequent works. There might be some considerations, stylistic or otherwise, which might have prevented *KK* from referring to *Madhva* or his *ism* or even to *M* as being a *Mādhva*.

The fourth argument is similarly based on a misunderstanding of the passage concerned. The passage on which that argument is based is as follows:—

केयं लीला व्यरुचि भवता योऽयमद्वैतभाजाम्

अथन्तेष्टस्तमष्टत भवानाश्रमं यत् तुरीयम् ।

भो अद्वैत स्मर किमु वयं हन्त नाद्वैतभाजो

भेदस्तस्मिंस्त्वयि च यदियान् रूपतो लिङ्गतश्च ॥ [CC, Act V, 21.]

The first half of this stanza is the question put to *C* by *Advaita*; and the former's reply to the latter is contained in the last two lines. But does this passage really prove that *C* was an Advaitin or even that he was against Madhvaism? If we read the passage more carefully we shall find that it shows *C* as being anything but an Advaitavādin. The question on the part of *Advaita* would itself be impossible and out of place if *C* were to be an Advaitavādin. *C*, on the contrary, must have been deadly opposed to the Advaitavāda; and hence it was that Advaita was struck to find *C* entering the *turiya āśrama*, i.e. *saṁnyāsa* which is the most favourite of the Advaitavādins. This again need not be understood to mean that *C* really accepted the Advaitavāda. What the statement tells is that *C* accepted the *saṁnyāsa āśrama*. *C* was almost ready to start his own *ism* and hence it does stand to reason to argue that he accepted the Advaitavāda at this stage. That *C* was not looked upon as an Advaitavādin is quite clear from the words of *C* himself. For he clearly asks *Advaita* 'kim u vāyam hanta na advaitabhājah' simply because there is some difference between him and us as regards *rūpa* and *liṅga*? Does this not show that *C* differed from the Advaitavādins both in point of *rūpa* as well as of *liṅga*, or that he was far from being Advaitavādin himself?

Another passage¹ from the same work has been adduced by Dr. De to show that *C* was probably a Śāṅkara. The passage runs as follows:

क्रियन्त एव वैष्णवा वृद्धाः । तेऽपि नारायणोपासका एव । अपरे तत्त्ववादिनः । ते तथाविधा एव । निरवयं न भवति तेषां मतम् । [CC, Act VIII, opening passage.]

¹ Cf. *op. cit.*, page 11, note 2.

This passage does show C's dissatisfaction with the followers of *Rāmānuja* and also those of *Madhva*. But one can't understand how it proves that C was satisfied with *Advaitavāda*. This passage only shows C in a state of discontent as regards the state of Vaiṣṇavaism—both *Rāmānuja* as well as *Mādhva*—obtaining in his early days which must have led C to follow his own way and found his own *ism*. In fact *Caitanyaism* is so far removed from the *Advaitavāda* that it is really difficult to see how the former would spring out of the latter. Is not *Caitanyaism* nearer to *Madhvaism* than to the *Advaitavāda*?

Similar is the case with the argument that the names of *M* and *I* do not occur in the list prepared by Dr. Bhandarkar. None can challenge the authenticity of the list given by Dr. Bhandarkar who has prepared it on the strength of original lists from Miraj, Belgaum and Poona. But we must remember that the list gives us the names of the *High Priests* of the *Mādhva sect*. Now can we reasonably say that there were no saints or teachers of the *Mādhva sect* besides those mentioned in Dr. Bhandarkar's list? Are we sure that *Madhva* himself had only one disciple? Will it be right or even reasonable to hold that none whose names do not occur in the list can claim to be a *Mādhva*? Evidently this list contains the names of only such among the successive chain of *gurus* and *śiṣyas* of the *Mādhva sect* as have had the good fortune to attain the position of a *High Priest*. There must have been hundreds of other *Mādhvas* whose names for obvious reasons could not find their way into this list. Absence of the names in this list can't, therefore, be legitimately taken to prove that the persons holding these names did not belong to the sect at all.

On comparing the *guru-paramparā* given by *KK* with the list given by Dr. Bhandarkar we find that the first six names are identical in both of them but for the fifth name which is *Padmanābha* in the former as against *Akṣobhya-tīrtha* of the latter. This shows that *KK* is giving us a list which so far as the first six names are concerned is historically authentic. Looking further down we see that the two lists part ways after *Jaya-tīrtha* and part for good. For thereafter we do not get any name that is common to both. The name *Vidyānidhi* though common to both the lists does not yet signify one and the same personality; for whereas he stands third from *Jaya-tīrtha* in the one, he stands only the fifth from him in the other. To argue, therefore, on the strength of the date of this *Vidyānidhi* as given by Dr. Bhandarkar would be far from right since such an argument would have to presume the identity of the two *Vidyānidhis* which can't be easily conceded. *Veda-Vyāsa-tīrtha* is another name in Dr. Bhandarkar's list which may perhaps be confounded

initiated *Madhva* himself was initiated by an *Advaitavādin*. Are we to recognize him as an *Advaitavādin* on that account? Examples are not wanting where *Advaitavādins* have become disciples of *Dvaitins*. Thus *Vyāsātīrtha* had many disciples from among *Advaitins*, notably his biographer *Somanātha*.¹ Thus what we can at the most concede in this matter is that *C* formally was a *Śāṅkara samnyāsin* though he never subscribed to *Śāṅkara's Advaita-vāda*. And if this can be said about *C* without any fear of contradiction in terms, can we not say the same about *M* and *I*, the *parama-guru* and the *guru* of *C*? What is there to prevent us from assuming that they also formally belonged to one of these sects of *Śāṅkara samnyāsa*, but did not subscribe to *Śāṅkara's Advaita-vāda*? Does this not show that they must have accepted some doctrine at least from *non-advaita* preceptors? There is, therefore, nothing improbable or incompatible if *M* and *I* occur in the *guru-paramparā* traced down from *Madhva*.

It may now be conceded that there being no strong positive ground for challenging the authenticity of the accounts given by *KK* we should take his statements as being authentic, particularly because the statements are not *sāmpradāyika* and also because they are made by a contemporary after an elaborate investigation. It is no use arguing that they are not corroborated by any other writer. For it may be argued in reply that they are refuted neither. Is it ever likely that any statements which were purely imaginary and were unauthentic would have easily been accepted and allowed circulation, particularly within a few years after the passing away of *C* and among the staunch disciples of *C* himself? If *KK's* statements were inaccurate and unauthentic we should have got some statements to that effect from some of the followers of *C*. But since no such statements are found out as yet we have to accept the authenticity of *KK's* statements as they are.²

We are not here much concerned, however, with the *ism* to which *C* originally belonged. It is only the *guru-paramparā* that is important for our purposes here: for we find a clear reference in it to *V* as the author of the *Bhr*. Casting a glance at the *guru-paramparā* we find that *V's* name stands sixth from that of *Jaya-tīrtha* who is definitely known to have passed away in 1268 A.D. We also see that he stands fourth or fifth from *C* the date of whose passing away is known to be 1533 A.D. This should help us a good

¹ See *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 430, note 4.

² On the contrary *KK* in no ambiguous terms has stated the sources from which he has derived his information; and nothing has as yet been done to show that these are unauthentic.

deal in our attempts to fix the date of *V* within reasonably narrow limits without leaving much scope for doubt. In such calculations a period of twenty-five years is generally allowed for one generation. But taking into consideration the fact that here we are dealing with a line of *gurus* and *śiṣyas*, and not of fathers and sons, a margin of about five or even more years on either side may reasonably be allowed.

But before we come to the actual calculations we must determine the exact position of *V* in the line as given by *KK*. For though there is no ambiguity regarding the reference to *V* as the author of the *Bhr.* yet there is some ambiguity regarding the exact position which *V* occupies in the list. As we read the stanzas¹ giving the list we find that *V*'s name comes immediately after that of *Jayadharmā*. But in the very next line we find *Puruṣottama* mentioned as a disciple of *Jayadharmā*. It would, therefore, appear that *V* is not a pupil of *Jayadharmā*, or if at all he is a disciple of *Jayadharmā* he must have been a co-student of *Puruṣottama*. But from the colophons to *V*'s *Bhr.* we know that *V* was a disciple of *Puruṣottama*. Now whichever of these positions is accepted as

¹ Read: व्यासकृष्णदीक्षो मध्वाचार्यो महाशयः ।०

तस्य शिष्योऽभवत् पद्मनाभाचार्यो महाशयः ॥

तस्य शिष्यो नरहरिः तच्छिष्यो माधवो द्विजः ।

पद्मनाभः तस्य शिष्योऽभूत् तच्छिष्यो जयतीर्थकः ॥

तस्य शिष्यो ज्ञानसिन्धुः तस्य शिष्यो मङ्गलानिधिः ।

विद्यानिधिः तस्य शिष्यो राजेन्द्रः तस्य सेवकः ॥

जयधर्मो मुनिस्तस्य शिष्योऽभूद् मधमध्यतः ।

श्रीमद्विष्णुपुरी यस्य भक्तिरत्नावली कतिः ॥

जयधर्मस्य शिष्योऽभूद् ब्रह्मण्यः पुष्पोत्तमः ।

व्यासतीर्थस्तस्य शिष्यो यस्यैव विष्णुसंहिताम् ॥

श्रीमङ्गलीपतिः तस्य शिष्यो भक्तिरत्नाश्रयः ।

तस्य शिष्यो साधवेन्द्रो यत्कर्त्तव्यं प्रवर्तितः ॥०

तस्य शिष्योऽभवच्छ्रीमान् ईश्वराक्षपुरी यतिः ।०

ईश्वराक्षपुरी गौर उररीक्ष्य गौरवे ।

जगदाज्ञावशमास प्राकृताप्राकृतात्मकम् ॥

right it may not be far from the truth to say that *V* was not separated from *Puruṣottama* by a very long period. Again from the colophons¹ of the works of *Vyāsatīrtha* we know that he was a pupil of *Brahmanyatīrtha*, while according to *KK*'s list *Puruṣottama* appears to be the name of the *guru* of *Vyāsatīrtha*. If, therefore, there is any truth in the statement of *KK* we have to assume that *Puruṣottama* and *Brahmanyatīrtha* are only two names of one and the same person. And curiously enough such an assumption is warranted by the statement of *KK* himself; for in giving us the name of *Vyāsatīrtha*'s preceptor, *KK* uses the expression '*brahmanyah puruṣottamah*' and not merely '*puruṣottamah*'. This, therefore, is a clear indication of the fact that even *KK* knew *Puruṣottama* as *Brahmanya Puruṣottama* or that *Brahmanya* (or *Brahmanyatīrtha*) was according to *KK* only another name of *Puruṣottama*. It is only in *B*'s list that we find these two names given as signifying two different persons *Puruṣottama* being the preceptor and *Brahmanya* the disciple. But *B*'s evidence is evidently very late and as such weaker than the statements of *KK*. It may, therefore, be concluded that *Puruṣottama* and *Brahmanyatīrtha* are the names of one and the same person, the preceptor of *Vyāsatīrtha*. But *V*, as we have seen already, is not far removed from *Puruṣottama*. Here, therefore we have a circumstance which enables us to locate *V* somewhere about 1339 A.D. which is given as the date of the demise of *Vyāsatīrtha*, the disciple of *Brahmanyatīrtha* alias *Puruṣottama* who is almost a contemporary of *V*.

Calculations on the strength of the generations of preceptors separating *V* from *Jayatīrtha* whose death occurred in 1268 A.D. also gives us 1388 A.D. approximately as the lowermost limit for *V*'s date, so that *V* may reasonably be assumed to have lived not much before the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. Calculating from the other end again we arrive at about 1433 A.D. as the lowest limit for *V*'s date. These calculations, as already remarked above, can't be accepted as being very rigid so that on

¹ Read: (i) इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्याणां श्रीमद्ब्रह्मण्डीयपूज्यपादानां त्रिष्येष आसयतिना विरचिते मर्कताण्डवेनुमानपरिच्छेदः ।—Eggeling, *op. cit.*, No. 2476.

(ii) A similar colophon is found at the end of the *Nyāyāmṛta*, a MS. of which is found in the *Bhagvatśiṅghji Collection* of MSS. in the University Library, Bombay (No. 107). That this *Vyāsa-yati* is a Mādhva is shown by the introductory verse of his *Nyāyāmṛta* which runs as follows:—

श्रीमद्भगवत्पुण्यादिश्रीमद्भरमहीधता ।

आमन्योद्भूयते म्माध्वान्तं विबुधसमये ॥

the strength of these pieces of information we have to conclude that broadly speaking *V* can't have lived much beyond 1425 A.D. or much earlier than about 1275 A.D.

Having thus discussed the question regarding the date of *V*, let us now turn to the date of the composition of his *Bhr*. Here again there seems to be no difficulty in accepting that *V*'s *Bhr*. was composed sometime between 1300 and 1400 A.D. But let us see if it is possible to fix this date within narrower limits still. Turning to the verses in which *V* records the date of the composition of his *Bhr*. together with the author's own commentary we find that in them *V* has given us not only the year but also the exact date by recording the month, the *pakṣa*, the *tithi* and also the *vāra* on which the work was completed. This evidence is very important for our purposes since it affords solid grounds for further investigations, by trying to verify the statement regarding the date of the composition as contained in these couplets. That the statement as we have it at present in the couplets in question is not accurate is shown by the fact that the second day of the dark half of the month of *Phālguna* in the year 1555 of the Śaka era corresponds to the 6th of March, 1634 of the Christian era which falls on *Thursday*¹ and not on *Tuesday* as it is stated by *V*. The question before us, therefore, is whether we can locate the mistake and whether it is possible to rectify it. As for the first part of the problem it may be said that looking to the way in which *V* has recorded the date in question the only possible source of inaccuracy lies in the expression recording the year; for there instead of numerical adjectives or numbers *V*, as is usual with all Saṁskṛta writers, has used code words from which we have to call to mind the numbers they would signify and thus get the actual year. In such cases an alteration of even one syllable may cause a serious alteration and thus render the whole record inaccurate. And for careless scribes it is not very difficult to introduce such annoying and unwarranted alterations. Extreme similarity may also be found to be responsible for such inaccuracies. Very probably, therefore, in the present case also the mistake is to be located in the expression recording the year, i.e. in '*mahāyajñāsara-prāṇasāśāṅkagunite śake*'. We can go still further in the light of the conclusion arrived at above regarding the probable limits for the date of *V* and say that the mistake lies in the word signifying the hundreds, i.e. in the word *prāṇa*. The remaining words are so clear that they do not seem to admit of any confusion. If thus there is no confusion regarding the remaining three figures, if they are accepted as being one, five,

¹ For this I am indebted to जरे जंजी.

and five respectively, and if the confusion lies only in the figure in the hundred's place let us see if it is possible to dispel the confusion and arrive at the correct date. Here again on the strength of the conclusions arrived at above we see that the only figure that can suit in the hundred's place is two. For if any other figure, say one or three, is placed there the year we shall have will be 1155 or 1355 of the Śaka era which would correspond to A.D. 1234 or 1434 respectively. But as we have seen above *V* can't have lived much earlier than 1300 or much later than 1400. This then shows that the Śaka year in which *V* composed his *Bhr.* can be obtained by putting the figure two only in the place of hundreds, if we are to have a date in keeping with the results arrived at above. That this might be the originally recorded year is also shown by orthographical considerations. The word signifying the figure in hundred's place as we have it at present is *prāṇa*. The original word very probably was *ghrāṇa* which would signify two and which can very easily be confounded with the word *prāṇa* owing to the extreme similarity between these two words when written in the *Devanāgarī* script. These considerations, therefore, make it highly probable that *V*'s *Bhr.* was composed in 'mahāyājñasāraghrāṇaśaśāṅkagūṇite śake', i.e. in Śaka 1255 corresponding to A.D. 1334.

The inaccuracy of the date 1634 A.D. is again proved by the statement of *V* himself when he states that the work was composed at Benares in the vicinity of *Maheśa* in the temple of *Hari*. For as Dr. Altekar has pointed out this temple which is obviously that of *Padmanābha* was pulled down by Sharqi rulers in the fifteenth century so that no work could have been composed in it in 1634 A.D. This temple, as we are told by Dr. Altekar again, was built in 1295 A.D. which fact shows that there is nothing improbable in a work being composed in it in 1334 A.D.¹

And fortunately in the present case we are in possession of some definite grounds on which to verify our conclusions, by seeing whether the second day of the dark half of the month of *Phālguna* of Śaka 1255 (the date arrived at above) falls on Tuesday as *V* has recorded it. If it does, then we should have no hesitation in accepting this as the right date of the composition of *V*'s *Bhr.* I, therefore, tried to calculate and see if the date given by *V* falls on Tuesday in Śaka 1255, and calculating with the help of the tables given by Mr. V. B. Ketkar in his *Indian and Foreign Chronology* I found that the date given corresponds to the 21st of February, 1334, which falls on Monday. Thinking, therefore, that perhaps more accurate calculations would show the day to be Tuesday (i.e. the day as

¹ I am thankful to Dr. Altekar for this information.

stated by V) I referred the matter to Dr. K. L. Daftari of Nagpur who in reply wrote to me that we may get Tuesday on that particular date by the northern way of naming the months, i.e. one day after the actual date that is obtained by our calculation.¹ This explanation is quite applicable in the present case since V composed his work at Benares, i.e. in Northern India. There should, therefore, be no difficulty in accepting the *second day of the dark half of the month of Phalguna of Śaka 1255 corresponding to the 22nd of February, 1334, as the actual date on which V finished his Bhr. and the Kānti-mālā thereon.*

¹ I take this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt thanks to the learned Doctor for the readiness with which he answered my query in his letter dated Mahal Nagpur, 18-11-43.

AYODHYĀ IN ANCIENT INDIA¹

By B. C. LAW

Ayodhyā or Ayojjhā or Ayudha is one of the seven holy places of the Hindus.² Fā-Hien calls this town as **Geographical position** Sha-che and according to Ptolemy it is known as Sogeda. Its capital was Sujanakot or Sañcankot, 34 miles north-west of Unao in Oudh on the river Sai in the Unao district. In Brāhmaṇa literature we find that Śunaśśepa speaks of this town as a village.³ According to the Vividhatīrthakalpa⁴ of the Jains, Ayodhyā is also known as Vinītā, Sāketa, Ikṣvākubhūmi, Rāmapurī and Kośala. It is the birth-place of Rṣabha, Ajita, Abhinandana, Sumati, Ananta, and Acala. Seven Jain preceptors were born here. According to this Jain work, Ayodhyā was 12 yojanas long and nine yojanas broad.⁵ This town is situated on the banks of the Sarayū river,⁶ about 6 miles from the Fyzabad Railway Station. It is also a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas. Sarayū or Sarabhū⁷ of Pāli literature is the Ghagrā or Gogrā in Oudh. According to the Vividhatīrthakalpa, the river Ghargharadaha meets with the Sarayū and is known by the name of Svargadvāra. This river rises in the mountains of Kumayun and after its junction with the Kālī nadī, it is called the Sarayū, the Ghagrā or the Durā. According to the Mahābhārata,⁸ the Sarayū issues from the Mānasasarovara. The Son and the Sarayū⁹ joined the Ganges near Singhee, 8 miles east of Chapra in Saran, between Singhee and Harji-chupra, two villages on both sides of the Ganges, about 2 miles to the east of Cherund and 8 miles to the east of Chapra. According to Alberuni, Ayodhyā is situated about 150 miles south-

¹ Published in the *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*.

² *Ayodhyā Mathurā Māyā Kāśī Kāncī Avantikā Purī Dvārāvati caiva saptaitā mokṣadāyikāḥ*.

³ *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 3. ff.; *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XV, 17-25. Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1917, p. 52 note.

⁴, ⁵ *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 24.

⁶ *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, Ch. 24.

⁷ *Vinaya*, II, 237; *Anguttara Nikāya*, IV, 101; *Samyutta*, II, 135; *Udāna*, V, 5. The Aciravati was its tributary.

⁸ *Anuśāsanaparva*, Ch. 155. The Sarayū is mentioned among other rivers: *Rahasyām Śatakumbhaṇ ca Sarayūṇ ca tathāiva ca Carmanvatim Vetravatim Hastisomaṇ diśam tathā*. (*Mbh.*, Baṅgavāsī Ed., p. 821, 19).

⁹ Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 47, vs. 3-5, where we read that Rama visited the confluence of the Ganges and the Sarayū.

east from Kanauj. In the Buddhist period, Kośala was divided into Uttara-Kośala (northern Kośala) and Dakṣiṇa-Kośala (southern Kośala), the Sarayū being the dividing line between the two provinces. The capital of the Southern Kośala was Ayodhyā on the Sarayū. According to the Rāmāyaṇa,¹ the river Śyandikā or Sai between the Gumti and the Ganges formed the southern boundary of Kośala.

Rhys Davids points out that Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town in Buddha's time.² Some think that Ayodhyā and Śāketa were identical but Rhys Davids says that both the cities existed in Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining cities like London and Westminster. Ayodhyā seems to have been the earliest capital and Śāketa the next.³ According to the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, it was 5,000 li in circuit. The Rāmāyaṇa tells us that Rāmacandra walked south from Ayodhyā to Pañcavaṭī. After killing Rāvaṇa, Rāma is said to have proceeded to Kiṣkindhyā and thence to Ayodhyā.⁴ Ayodhyā is described in the Rāmāyaṇa as being situated on the banks of the river Sarayū in the land of Kośala which was a big *janapada* or country and the well-known town of Ayodhyā was included in it. Manu, the progenitor of man, is said to have built Ayodhyā which was 12 yojanas in extent and 3 yojanas in breadth. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, it took four days and nights to cover the distance between Ayodhyā and Videha at normal speed; swiftly moving envoys could cover the distance in three days. At a distance of one krośa (2 miles) from the capital city of Ayodhyā, was situated Nandigrāma where Bharata ruled over the people of Ayodhyā during Rāma's exile. The Rāmāyaṇa further points out that three days and three nights were generally taken for swiftly flying messengers to reach Mathurā from Ayodhyā. Rāma's palace was half a yojana distant from the bank of the Sarayū.⁵

The Chinese pilgrim, Fā-Hien, who visited Ayodhyā in the 5th century A.D., saw the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas not in good terms. He also saw a tope there where the four Buddhas walked and sat.⁶

Chinese pilgrims'
accounts

Another Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the 7th century A.D., after travelling more than 600 li and crossing

¹ I, Chs. 49-50.

² *Buddhist India*, p. 34.

³ Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (4th Ed.), p. 91.

⁴ *Mahābhārata*, 543, 52-70.

⁵ *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bāṅavāsi Ed.) 1466, 1.

⁶ Legge, *Travels of Fā-Hien*, pp. 54-5.

the Ganges to the south, reached the Ayudha or Ayodhyā country. According to him, Ayodhyā was the temporary residence of Aśaṅga and Vasubandhu. He says that Ayudha is Sāketa, i.e., Ayodhyā. The country yielded good crops, was luxuriant in fruit and flower and had a genial climate. The people had agreeable ways, were fond of good work and devoted to practical learning. There were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries and more than 3000 Brethren who were students of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. There were 10 deva temples and the non-Buddhists were few in number. Within the capital was the old monastery in which Vasubandhu composed various Śāstras. There was a hall in ruins where Vasubandhu explained Buddhism to princes and monks who used to come from other countries. Close to the Ganges was a large Buddhist monastery with an Asoka tope to mark the place where the Buddha preached to Devas and men for 3 months the excellent doctrines of his religion. Four or five li west from this monastery was a Buddha relic tope and to the north of the tope were the remains of an old monastery where the Sautrāntika-vibhāsa-śāstra was composed. In a mango-grove 5 or 6 li to the south-west of the city was the old monastery in which Aśaṅga learnt and taught. The three Buddhist treatises referred to by Yuan Chwang were communicated to Aśaṅga by Maitreya, viz., Yogācārabhūmiśāstra, Sūtrālaṅkāra-ṭīkā and Madhyantavibhāga-śāstra. About 100 paces to the north-west of the mango-grove was a Buddha relic tope. Aśaṅga, according to the pilgrim, began his Buddhist religious career as a Mahīśāsaka and afterwards became a Mahāyānist. Vasubandhu began his career in the School of the Sarvāstivādins. The Chinese pilgrim also refers to an old monastery 40 li north-west from Aśaṅga's chapel. Within this a brick-tope marked the place where the conversion of Vasubandhu to Mahāyānism began. After the death of Aśaṅga, Vasubandhu composed several treatises, expounding and defending Mahāyānism. He died at Ayodhyā at the age of 83.¹

According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā was a city full of wealth and paddy. It had spacious streets and roads. Its streets were well-watered and looked gay with flowers. It had lofty gates furnished with doors and bolts amidst the net-work of its streets. Furnished with all kinds of equipments, it looked like a bulwark with its defences. It was the home of a large number of skilful persons trained in arts and crafts. It was full of palatial buildings, green bowers and mango-groves. Around all these, a long row of *śāla* trees looked like a girdle. The city was rendered impregnable being surrounded by a deep

Description in the
Epics

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¹ Watters on *Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 354-9.

ditch filled with water. Animals useful to men like horses and elephants, cows, camels, and asses could all be found there in large number. It had in it merchants from different countries, feudatory chiefs and princes from all quarters. Splendid with its stately mansions, it had a large number of pinnacled houses. The city had lofty seven storied buildings inlaid with gold and precious stones. It was a crowded city and frequently resounded by the drums and the notes of the harp and other musical instruments. It had a galaxy of great men, benevolent sages, and virtuous people. This blissful city had Kamboja horses and mighty elephants. Men of rank could be found in the city moving in chariots, horses and elephants. The parks and pleasure-gardens were resorts of lovers, where merry folks used to gather in the evening.¹ In the Mahābhārata, the city of Ayodhyā is given the epithet of 'puṇyalakṣaṇā,' that is, endowed with auspicious signs. It was a delightful spot on earth and its sparkling splendour looked like the shining moon in autumn.²

According to the Rāmāyaṇa, there were four grades of social order, e.g., the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. They had to fulfil duties and obligations of the respective orders.³ The Kṣatriyas obeyed the Brāhmaṇas, the Vaiśyas followed the Kṣatriyas, and the Śūdras served the three upper castes.⁴ The Kṣatriyas like the Brāhmaṇas had to perform the triennial worship daily. The Brāhmaṇas occupied the most exalted rank in the social order of the age. Being placed at the highest rung of the ladder, the special privileges that were denied to the Kṣatriyas, were however enjoyed by them. Thus the Brāhmaṇas alone had the right to master the four Vedas and used the sacred sound *Oṃkāra* and *Vaṣaṭkāra*.⁵ The Brāhmaṇas had also the right to study not merely the sacred scriptures meant for their own class but also to acquire the sciences and arts intended for the Kṣatriyas.⁶

Ordinarily birth in a family determined once for all the caste of a man. Transgression of this rule was however allowed in special cases. Thus the sage Viśvāmitra, a Kṣatriya by birth, became a brāhmaṇa by dint of his extraordinary merit and was accepted in the rank of a brāhmaṇa by his great rival Vaśiṣṭha.⁷ The instance of Aśmaka, a royal sage, born from the union of sage Vaśiṣṭha with a Kṣatriya queen of the Ikṣvāku ruler of Ayodhyā, as related in the

¹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 309, vv. 22-24.

³ *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 6, vv. 90-98.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114, v. 23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114, v. 27.

² *Mahābhārata*, 171-2, 23-47.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16, vv. 16-19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 114, v. 23.

Mahābhārata, shows that offsprings born of such *asavarna* union were not unknown.¹ In the code of Manu we find mention of such *asavarna* marriages of the *anuloma* and *pratiloma* types.

The Brāhmaṇas were exempted from capital punishment.² The robbing of their property was considered to be a heinous act according to the public opinion of the time.³ They lived on the vegetable diet.⁴

Famine was rare in the city of Ayodhyā. The people were free from diseases. Premature death was unknown. Everyone was charitably disposed and all residents whether male or female used ornaments. Malpractices were unknown and people were faithful in the observance of sacrificial rites.⁵ People were loyal, faithful, and hospitable to their guests. They used to enjoy a long lease of life with their wives, sons and grandsons. The sick and the destitute were treated to sumptuous dinner. Food and dress were freely given to all during the sacrifice. Walking in circle around a dignified person before parting was the common way of paying homage.⁶ In a *śrādh* ceremony a large number of cows, gold and other riches were given to the Brāhmaṇas.⁷ Extortion was utterly unknown.⁸ During the coronation ceremony, the streets were richly decorated and illuminated,⁹ musical instruments were played and the Brāhmaṇas used to chant sweet benedictions. The coronation ceremony was held in an auspicious hour with good stars on a favourable day. Thus Rāma was installed as king by the family priest Vasiṣṭha and others on a suitable day with the favourable star *Śravanā*.¹⁰

Various evil-killing rites were performed.¹¹ To follow elder brothers was the golden rule for the younger brothers.¹² Earning money by selling lac, flesh, honey, iron or poison was considered abominable.¹³ The offering of oblations in honour of the departed spirit was a common custom,¹⁴ and the offering of watery oblations in honour of the departed ancestors was prevalent.¹⁵ Jealousy among rival brothers was not unknown. It was a commonplace occurrence that a wife should cling to her beloved, a friend should act in a like manner. For a brother to stick to his brother and act in a reciprocal way was something common.¹⁶

¹ *Mahābhārata*, 171-72, 23-47.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1392, vv. 48-49.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15, vv. 10-12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 126, vv. 21-25.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 150, vv. 17-18.

¹¹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 208, vv. 46-47.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 320, v. 38.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 372, vv. 26-27.

² *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1391, v. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1404-5, vv. 26-27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 115, v. 39.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136, v. 24.

¹⁰ *Mbh.*, 543, 52-70.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 240, 6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 322, vv. 2-3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1158, v. 14.

Devotion to husband was considered as the highest virtue for married women.¹ According to the orthodox ideal of the age, the amorous look from other's eyes, the faintest touch from a member of the opposite sex other than her husband would have a sinister influence on the good reputation of a chaste wife.²

No act of violence should be committed on the weak and the helpless and specially on women. Such unchivalrous conduct looked like an act of cowardice. Stealing others' wives by treachery was an offence.³ Respectable ladies never exposed themselves to public view. Seclusion of women within the confines of the inner apartment was the usual rule. If necessity arose, they would move in palanquins or some other covered vehicles with adequate veils over their faces and requisite garments over their bodies. On no ordinary account could they come out to public streets by crossing the city-gates on foot or move with an open countenance.⁴ The exit of women before the public view was allowed for serving the needs of different kinds of *Vyasanas* like hunting, game of dice, etc. In times of war or public sacrifice, on the occasion of the marriage ceremony or during the work of choosing one's partner from among a large number of suitors in an open assembly (*Svayambara*) or in times of great distress or sorrow women had the right to come out of their harem and expose themselves to public view. The use of deformed men and women for the work of the harem was in vogue at the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁵ The life of a widow seems to be the worst lot, the highest curse for a woman.⁶

There were expert barbers, as well as good musicians and well-trained courtesans, big merchants and traders at Ayodhyā.⁷ Disrespect to Brāhmaṇas, parents and priests was considered to be a sacrilege.⁸ Preservation of dead bodies in vessels filled with oil was then known.⁹ King Daśaratha's dead body was preserved for some time before its actual cremation by Bharata.¹⁰

At the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the people and the members of

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the royal household were on the whole religious. Religious sacrifices were performed and Vedic mantras were chanted. During the horse sacrifice of King Daśaratha twenty-one kinds of sacrificial wood were prepared and set up by expert craftsmen; of these six were made of the timber of the *Bilva*

¹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 205, vv. 25-26.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1196, vv. 19-20; p. 1198, vv. 26-27.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1165, vv. 12-13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1185, v. 61; p. 1194, vv. 14-15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 181, vv. 1-3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1309, vv. 42-43.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1220, vv. 3-5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1267, v. 21.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1419, v. 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 322, v. 4.

tree, six of *Khadira* wood, six of *Palāsa* plant, one of the *Śleṣmātaka*¹ timber and the remaining two of pine wood. The sacrificial wood was covered with cloth and gold and worshipped with scented flowers. In a sacrifice many cows and a large number of gold and silver bits were given to the priests.² On the banks of the Sarajā, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa offered their morning prayers and repeated the *Sāvitrī mantra* at the instance of the sage Viśvāmitra.³ In the hermitage of Viśvāmitra, they performed the usual *sandhyā* and morning prayers and offered oblations to the sacrificial fire.⁴ As we have already pointed out, offering of oblations in honour of the departed spirit was the common practice. The Kṣatriya kings and princes used to observe ten days of *aśauca* or the observance of impurity caused by the death of relations.⁵ Among the Brāhmaṇas, sophists were not unknown and followers of the hedonist school of Cārvāka were also found. Four hundred horse sacrifices, four thousand *Vājaṭpeya* and numerous *Gomedha*, *Agniṣṭoma* and *Atirātra* sacrifices⁶ were performed by some eminent kings of the Ikṣvāku race. Duly bathed, a Kṣatriya king used to offer oblations to fire, and make worship in adoration of his ancestors and Brāhmaṇas and then pray before the images in temples inside his palace. As regards religious rights the Śūdras remained on a low footing of inequality in comparison with the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. Śambuka, a Śūdra by birth, was slain by Rāma for making vedic sacrifices.⁷

In the history of Jainism, we find that a Jaina tīrthaṅkara named Ajitanātha was born at Ayodhyā. He earned the title of the 'Victorious' for he was

Jainism

so devout an ascetic that he was unrivalled in performing austerities. He soon attained salvation.⁸ A Jaina monk named Buddhakīrti was well versed in Jaina scriptures. He flourished during the interval between Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. Once while performing austerities on the bank of the Sarayū in Palāśanagara he saw a dead fish floating. He carefully watched it and thought that there was no harm in eating the flesh of the dead fish for there was no soul in it.⁹

¹ *Cordia obliqua* = *Cordia Myx* Linn Willd. A tree or shrub in all provinces, whole of warmer parts of India; a pretty large but low tree in most parts of Circars, but chiefly in gardens and hedges and near villages in Gujarat, North Kanara, Deccan, Western Ghats, etc. There are two varieties, viz. *Kshudra Śleṣmātaka* = *Cordia obliqua* and *Śleṣmātaka* or *Cordia Wallichu*. When ripe the fruits of this plant are eaten by the people of the locality.

² *Rāmāyana*, p. 31, vv. 50-51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58, vv. 31-32; p. 59, v. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1452, vv. 8-9.

⁸ S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 51.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 47, vv. 3-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 323, vv. 1-2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1420, vv. 3-4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Lord Ādiguru attained enlightenment on the Aṣṭāvata mountain near Ayodhyā. Twenty-four Jain images were established on this mountain. Dovinda Sūri while wandering at Serisaya took his bath in the Sarayū river according to the Vividhatīrthakalpa. At the instance of the Goddess Padmāvatī a blind artisan was employed to make an image of Pārśvanātha. Three great images were brought from Ayodhyā by air.

Ayodhyā was hallowed by the dust of the feet of Gautama Buddha. He lived there on the banks of the Ganges. While he was there, he pointed out

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to the bhikkhus the transitoriness of the human body. He told them thus, 'The human body is like a foam, and similarly consciousness, glamour, and human activities, etc. have no essence at all.'¹ The inhabitants of Ayodhyā saw the Buddha entering their town accompanied by a large number of bhikkhus. They built a monastery for him in a dense forest at a curve of the river Ganges and presented it to him. He dwelt there for some time.²

The Rāmāyaṇa refers to the kings of Ayodhyā and the system of administration prevalent there. It is interesting to note here the duties of an Ikṣvāku

Political History

king. Aroused from his sleep at dawn by the hymns of prisoners and *sūtas*, a king was served with water for washing hands and feet. Duly bathed a Kṣatriya king offered oblations to fire and prayed before the images in temples inside his palace. After finishing the morning duties he used to attend to the business of his State and then go to his court where he would meet his ministers. The king with his ministers used to listen personally to the prayers and complaints of his subjects.³ Worthy treatment was given to State guests including kings and princes.⁴ The king used to spend the first half of each day in doing the business of his State and the latter half of his time was spent in enjoying the company of the ladies of his harem.⁵

The chief aim of a righteous monarch was to earn the loyalty and goodwill of his subjects.⁶ He used to hear the report of his trusted servants and reliable courtiers in order to ascertain the public opinion about his government.⁷ He used to redress the grievances of his subjects as far as possible.⁸ Nobody was detained or kept waiting at his door if he came to pray for something before the king.⁹ He was assisted in his administration by able ministers,

¹ *Samyutta Nikāya*, III, 140ff.

² *Sārattḥapakāśinī*, II, p. 320.

³ *Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 1354-55, vv. 9-24 and 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1356, vv. 5 and 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1363, v. 27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1367, vv. 14-15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1364, vv. 5-7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1379-80.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1382-83.

eminent jurists and men well-versed in the sacred lore. Punishment was always in proportion to the nature and gravity of the offence.¹ Life-long exile or transportation was an alternative for death sentence.²

The king used to give private interviews to spies and special messengers for confidential talks. Divulging State-secrets or over-hearing such secret talks was highly punishable.³ The succession to the throne was generally determined according to the law of primogeniture in the Ikṣvāku family.⁴

Rāma's youngest brother Śatrughna ruled Mathurā which he founded.⁵ His younger brother, Bharata, with his two sons Takṣa and Puṣkala conquered the Gandhāra country. The cities of Takṣa-śilā and Puṣkalāvati were ruled by the two sons of Bharata.⁶ Chandrakānta and Aṅgadīyā were ruled by the two sons of Lakṣaṇa named Candraketu and Aṅgada.⁷ Kuśa and Lava were rulers of southern and northern Kosala respectively.⁸ Śatrughna, Rāma's younger brother, installed his two sons Suvāhu and Śatrughātī as kings of Mathurā and Vaiśeṣa kingdoms respectively.⁹

In the Mahābhārata,¹⁰ mention is made of sixteen celebrated kings (*ṣoḍaśa-rājikā*) some of whom belonged to Ayodhyā, namely, Māndhātṛ, Sagara, Bhagiratha, Ambariṣa, Dilīpa¹¹ and Rāma Dāśarathī. The Mahābhārata also refers to Ikṣvāku, Kakutstha, Yuvanāśva, Raghu, Nimi and others.¹² The pious Dīrghayajña was the king of Ayodhyā when Yudhiṣṭhira ruled and performed his Rājasūya sacrifice.¹³ Divākara was a king of Ayodhyā who was the contemporary of Senājit, king of Magadha. Both of them were contemporaries of Asmākiṣṇa.¹⁴ Ikṣvāku, one of the nine sons of Manu Vāivasvata,¹⁵ reigned at Ayodhyā who had two sons, Vikukṣi-śaśāda and Nimi. From the former was descended the great Aikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā generally known as the solar race.

The Ikṣvākus, Aikṣvākus or Aikṣvakas are the titles of the solar race. Ikṣvāku was so called because he was born from the sneeze of Manu.¹⁶ The Purāṇas give a list of the kings of Ayodhyā.¹⁷

¹ *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 1391, 32-33.

² *Ibid.*, 1461, 13.

³ *Ibid.*, 1457, 11-12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 387, 36.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1412, 8-9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1455, 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1456, 7-9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1462, 17.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1463, 10.

¹⁰ VII, 55, 2170; XII, 29, 910-1037; I, 1, 223-4.

¹¹ Dilīpa II.

¹² *Mahābhārata*, 13, 227-34.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 241, 2.

¹⁴ *Vāyu*, 99, 270 and *Matsya*, 50, 77.

¹⁵ *Vāyu*, 85, 3-4; *Br.*, 7, 1-2; *Ag.* 272, 5-7; 18-39; *Bḍ.*, III, 60, 2-3; *Kār.*, I, 20, 4-6; *Vā.*, 64, 29-30; *Bḍ.*, II, 38, 30-2.

¹⁶ *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Wilson's Trans., III, 259.

¹⁷ *Vāyu*, 88, 8-213; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 7, 44-8, 94; *Hv.*, II, 660-15, 832; *Matsya*, 12, 25-57; *Pad.*, V, 8, 130-62; *Kār.*, I, 20, 10-21, 60; *Viṣṇu*, IV, 2, 3, 4, 49.

The Rāmāyaṇa genealogy, according to Pargiter, must be treated as erroneous and the Paurāṇic genealogy is to be accepted.¹ The Purāṇas say that there were two Dilīpas, one father of Bhagīratha and the other father or grandfather of Raghu, but according to the Rāmāyaṇa, there was only one Dilīpa, father of Bhagīratha and great grandfather of Raghu. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, Raghu was the father of Kalmāṣapāda and Aja is placed twelve generations below Raghu but the Purāṇas make Aja son of Raghu. The Raghuvamśa² supports the Purāṇas that Aja was the son of Raghu. The Rāmāyaṇa makes Kakutstha son of Bhagīratha and grandson of Dilīpa but the Purāṇas say that he was the son of Śaśāda. The Mahābhārata supports the Purāṇas.³ The Raghuvamśa⁴ also supports the Purāṇas in saying that from his time the kings had borne the title of Kākutstha and that Dilīpa was his descendant.

From Daśaratha to Ahinagu there is a general agreement. After Ahinagu, most of the Purāṇas give a list of some twenty kings, Paripātra to Brhadbala, agreeing in their names, though some of the lists are incomplete towards the end.⁵

The Aikṣvāku genealogy of Ayodhyā mentions the following kings:—(1) Prasenajit who was the contemporary of Maṭināra; (2) Yuvanāśva II, Māndhātṛ who married Śaśabindu's daughter named Bindumati Citrarathī, (3) Purukutsa, and (4) Trasadasyu. Jahnu of Kānyakubja married the grand-daughter of Yauvanāśva, that is, Māndhātṛ.⁶

The Tālajaṅghas attacked Ayodhyā and drove the king Bāhu from the throne. Māndhātṛ of Ayodhyā had a long war with the Druhyu king Aruddha or Aṅgāra⁷ and killed him.⁸

Subāhu, son of the Cedi king Vīrabāhu, and Rūpama, king of Ayodhyā, were contemporaries.⁹ Jamadagni allied himself with the royal house of Ayodhyā for he married Reṇukā, daughter of Reṇu.¹⁰

Sumitrā was the last of the Ikṣvāku kings in the Kali age who was contemporary with the Buddha. The royal house of Ikṣvāku sank into oblivion at the time of this king.¹¹

¹ *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 92ff.

² V, 35-6.

³ *Mahābhārata*, III, 201, 13515-6.

⁴ VI, 71-4.

⁵ *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 94.

⁶ *Vāyu*, 91, 58-9. *Bḍ.*, III, 66, 28-9. *Hv.*, 27, 1421-3; 32, 1761-62; *Br.*, 10, 19-20; 13, 87.

⁷ *Harivamśa*, 32, 1837-38; *Br.*, 13, 149-50; *Mbh.*, XII, 29, 981-2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 126, 10465.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 64, 2531, 65, 2576; *Vā.*, 88, 174; *Bḍ.*, III, 63, 173; *B.*, 8, 80; *Hv.*, 15, 815.

¹⁰ *Pad.*, VI, 268, 8, 73-74; 269, 158.

¹¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 309.

The kings of Ayodhyā were connected with the Vaśiṣṭha family. The Vaśiṣṭhas were their hereditary priests.¹ The earliest Vaśiṣṭha was the famous priest of Ayodhyā in the reigns of Trayyārūṇa, Satyavrata-Trīṣaṅku and Hariścandra.² The next great Vaśiṣṭha was the priest of Ayodhyā in the time of Hariścandra's successor Bāhu who was driven from his throne by the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas aided by the Śakas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Pāradas and Pahlavas from the north-west but Vaśiṣṭha maintained his position.

Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda Śaudāsa, king of Ayodhyā, had the fourth noted Vaśiṣṭha as his priest. The fifth was priest to Dilīpa II Khatvāṅga and the sixth was priest to Daśaratha and his son Rāma. King Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa beguiled by a Rākṣasa offered Vaśiṣṭha human flesh as food and was cursed by him.

Ikṣvāku obtained Madhyadeśa³ and was the progenitor of the solar race,⁴ with its capital at Ayodhyā.

The kingdom of Ayodhyā rose to very great eminence under Yuvanāśva II⁵ and especially his son Māndhātṛ. The latter married Śaśabindu's daughter Bindumatī. He was a very famous king, a Cakravartin and a Samrāj and extended his sway very widely.⁶ Māndhātṛ or his sons carried their arms south to the river Narmadā. The supremacy of Ayodhyā waned and the Kānyakubja kingdom rose into prominence under its king Jahnu. The Haihayas overcame Ayodhyā. The foreign tribes settled there after Ayodhyā was conquered.

Ayodhyā rose to prominence again under Aṃśumant's second successor Bhagīratha and Bhagīratha's third successor Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi.⁷

Of the Mānva or solar kingdoms that existed originally three remained, those of Ayodhyā, Videha and Vaiśālī.⁸ These three Mānva kingdoms were not dominated by the Aila stock. The earliest Āṅgirasas were connected with Māndhātṛ, king of Ayodhyā, and the earliest Āṅgirasa rishi was connected with Hariścandra, king of Ayodhyā.⁹

Daśaratha called in the help of the rustic Rṣyaśṛṅga from Aṅga.¹⁰ The eastern and southern kings and kings of the distant Punjab were invited to Daśaratha's sacrifice at Ayodhyā. Ayodhyā and

¹ *Bd.*, III, 48, 29; *Viṣ.*, IV, 3, 18; *Pad.*, VI, 219, 44; 237, 1.

² Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 205.

³ *Br.*, 7, 20; *Hv.*, 10634; *Siv.*, VII, 60, 17; *Vā.*, 85, 21.

⁴ *Matsya*, 12, 15; *Pad.*, V, 8, 120.

⁵ *Mahābhārata*, III, 126.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 126, 10462.

⁷ *Br.*, 78, 55-77; *Pad.*, VI, 22, 7-18; *Lg.*, I, 66, 21-2; *Vā.*, 88, 171-2.

⁸ *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 292.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

¹⁰ *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 9 and 10.

the Vaśiṣṭhas had no association then with the brahmanically *elite* region as Pargiter points out.¹ The Kathāsaritsāgara refers to the camp of Nanda in Ayodhyā.²

In Buddhism we find that there was a king of Ayodhyā named Kālasena whose city was surrounded by ten sons of Andhakaveṇhu (Andhakaveṇhudāsaputtā dasabhātikā) who uprooted the trees, pulled down the wall, captured the king and brought his kingdom under their sway.³ The city of Ayujjha was governed by the descendants of king Arindama.⁴

In Jainism we find that Prasannajita, a king of Ayodhyā, gave his daughter named Prabhāvatī in marriage to Pārśvanātha.⁵

Ayodhyā seems to have been included within the kingdom of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. An inscription found at Ayodhyā mentions the fact that Puṣyamitra performed two horse-sacrifices or *aśvamedhas* during his region.⁶ According to a spurious Gayā plate, Ayodhyā was the seat of a Gupta *jayaskandhāvāra* or 'Camp of victory', as early as the time of Samudra Gupta. Some coins of Pura Gupta have on the reverse the legend—'Śrī Vikramah' which may be a shorter form of the full title 'Vikramāditya'. Allan identifies⁷ him with King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, father of Bālāditya, who was a patron of Buddhism, through the influence of Vasubandhu. It may be assumed on the basis of this identification that the immediate successors of Skanda Gupta had a capital at Ayodhyā probably till the rise of the Maukharis.⁸

A large number of coins were found on the site of Ayodhyā.

Ayodhyā Coins

These coins fall under three classes.⁹ The first and the earliest consists of a few rare cast pieces, of which three types are known. The first type is known from one piece only¹⁰; it has a flower on the obverse and a plain reverse, and may not be a coin at all, but an ornament. Type II is only known from a unique specimen in the Museum¹¹; the obverse type is a *svastika* which connects it with type III, and the symbol on the reverse is well known from several series of punch-marked coins.

¹ *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 314.

² Tawney's Ed., I, p. 37.

³ *Jātaka* (Fausboll), IV, pp. 82-83.

⁴ *Vamsaṭṭhapakāsinī* (PTS), Vol. I, p. 127.

⁵ S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 48; C. J. Shah (*Jainism in North India*, p. 83 n.) considers this to be a misconception.

⁶ *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 57.

⁷ Cf. B.M.C., *Gupta Coins*, p. cxxii.

⁸ Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., pp. 495-496.

⁹ Cf. H. Rivett-Carnac, *J.A.S.B.*, 1880, p. 138.

¹⁰ Pl. XVI, 6.

¹¹ Pl. XVI, 7.

The square coin published by H. Rivett-Carnac¹ (obverse *svastika*, rev. *bull*) is probably also a coin of this series. Type III is the commonest of this class: the obverse, a *svastika* over a fish, is connected by the former symbol with the preceding type; the roughness of the casting makes it difficult to break up the reverse type into its component symbols. These coins probably contain a crescent or a taurine symbol above a steelyard, but might be a taurine symbol over an axe. The former is the more probable explanation, and the occurrence of the steelyard suggests that these are local coins of the city, as distinct from the dynastic issues; they may be compared with the Taxila pieces bearing a steelyard. Their date may be conjectured to be the third century B.C.

The remaining coins of Ayodhyā are inscribed with the names of the rulers who issued them, and fall under two very distinct classes, issued by two separate dynasties, one of square cast coins showing no trace of foreign influence in their style and types, and one of round struck pieces which have types rather than symbols. The coins of the rulers of the first dynasty closely resemble one another in style and are connected by their types. The obverse is a bull, or rarely an elephant, before an elaborate symbol not always distinct, which is replaced on the coins of the later dynasty by a ceremonial standard or spear. The reverse type consists of a group of five or six symbols. The characteristic symbols are a small 'Ujjain' symbol, a tree in railing, a group of four *nandipadas* in a square, a *svastika*, a river or snake and another symbol. Two rulers, Viśākhadeva and Śivadatta, have also the type of the *abhiseka* of Lakṣmī. The names of six rulers of this dynasty are known from their coins, which bear simply the Prākṛit form of the name in the genitive. They are Mūladeva (Mūladevasa), Vāyudeva (Vāyudevasa), Viśākhadeva (Viśākhadevasa), Dhanadeva (Dhanadevasa), Śivadatta (Śivadatasā) and Naradatta (Naradatasā). At least one other ruler is represented by the uncertain coins on which the name is possibly Pāthadeva. The type of Viśākhadeva coin first published by Rivett-Carnac and now in the Indian Museum, has on the reverse a buckler-like object, a solar symbol with a central boss surrounded by a circle of dots within rims. This came from Fyzabad, as did all the coins published by Rivett-Carnac. No attempt to arrange these rulers in chronological order is possible, nor have we any literary or inscriptional references to them. They probably cover the second century B.C.

The third class of coins belongs to a later dynasty. From Rivett-Carnac and Cunningham we know that these come from the

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, 1880, Pl. XVII.

same site. They are round pieces struck from dies leaving the seal-like impression characteristic of early Indian struck coins, and very distinct from the coins of the earlier dynasty. The usual types are obverse: a bull before a standard or spear, which closely resembles the ceremonial spear on the Aśvamedha coins of Samudra Gupta,¹ and reverse a bird, usually called a cock but probably a *haṃsa*, and a palm-tree with a river (or less probably a snake) below. These three elements are to be regarded as separate symbols and not as being combined to form a single type, as their proportions show. Another but rarer reverse type is an elaborate *nandipada* in a framework; the complete form of this type is probably something like the large symbol found on the coins of Almora. This occurs on the coins of Kumudasena, Ajavarman, Saṃghamitra and Vijayamitra. Vijayamitra is the only ruler who coins both types. On the coins of Kumudasena and Ajavarman, the object in front of the bull is probably a form of that on the coins of the earlier dynasty, a kind of triangular standard with cross-bar in railing. Kumudasena² is the only member of the dynasty to call himself a *rājā*; others inscribe their coins with their names only. The rulers represented in the British Museum are Satyamitra (Satyamitasa), Ārayamitra (Ayyamitasa), Saṃgha (Mitra), Vijayamitra (Vijayamitasa), Kumudasena (Rājña Kumudasenasa) to which may be added from the Indian Museum collection the names of Ajavarman (Ajavarmaṇa) and Devamitra (Devamitasa).³ None of these rulers is otherwise known to history. Their reigns probably covered the first two centuries A.D.⁴

¹ Cf. B.M.C., *Gupta Coins*, Pl. V, 9.

² See Rapson in *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 287.

³ Cf. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, I, pp. 150-51, No. 16, Pl. XIX, 16 and 18

⁴ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, Introduction, pp. lxxxvii-xc and 129-139.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

By R. C. MAJUMDAR

I. THE HARĀHĀ INSCRIPTION OF ĪŚĀNAVARMAN

The verse 13 of this inscription¹ which recounts the conquests of the Maukharī king Īśānavarman contains a reference to Gauḍa which has been differently interpreted by different scholars. There has been, so far, no dispute about the reading of the passage which runs as follows: '*Kṛtvā c-āyatimocita-sthala-bhuvo Gauḍān samudr-āśrayān*'. Pandit Hirananda Sastri, who edited the inscription, translates it as follows: 'After causing the Gauḍas, living on the seashore, in future to remain within their proper realm.' According to Dr. R. G. Basak,² the passage means that Īśānavarman 'made the Gauḍa people take shelter towards the seashore, after causing their land territories to be deprived of their future prospects'. Sastri's interpretation gives a better sense but does not satisfactorily bring out the meaning of '*āyatimocita*'; while Dr. Basak's rendering of this phrase makes the whole passage somewhat obscure. The real difficulty is caused by the very unusual expression *āyatimocita* and it appears to me that this reading is faulty. On a close inspection of the facsimile of the record published by Sastri it would appear that the second letter read as *ya* is different from other signs for the same letter, inasmuch as the central vertical stroke, instead of joining the base, is turned to the right and connected with the right hand vertical stroke. It is thus possible to read it as *pra*, though it must be confessed that it is different from other *pra*-s in the same record. But if we read the letter as *pra* the whole passage gives a very good sense and is easily intelligible. It would then read: '*Kṛtvā c-āpratimocita-sthala-bhuvo Gauḍān samudr-āśrayān*'. It would mean that the Gauḍas, having failed to redeem or recover their land territory, were forced to remain on the seashore. This interpretation clearly brings out the contrast between *sthala* and *samudra* and would imply that Īśānavarman was partially successful in checking the attempts of the Gauḍas to recover their homeland on the decline of the Gupta Empire. I am unable to explain why this *pra* was written differently, but then the same difficulty encounters us if we read it as *ya*. I can only suggest that the engraver of the

¹ Edited in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, 110ff.

² *History of North-Eastern India*, p. III.

record at first took the letter to be *ya*, but at the last moment found out his error and tried to make it as much like *pra* as possible. However, I offer my suggestion to the scholars for further consideration of the matter.

II. DEO-BARAÑĀRK INSCRIPTION OF JĪVITAGUPTA

This fragmentary inscription¹ has gained an undue importance by being used as the principal argument in favour of the theory that the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman ruled over Magadha, and therefore we must hold that the Later Guptas had nothing to do with this province until a much later time.² But a close examination of the record shows that such far-reaching conclusions are hardly warranted by it. The inscription records the grant of a village by Jīvitagupta II and incidentally mentions some details, partially preserved, which seem to show that the village in question was formerly in the possession of the two Maukhari kings mentioned above. It has been generally accepted, openly or tacitly, that the village is no other than Vāruṇikā, modern Deo-Baraṇārka, 25 miles south-west of Arrah, the chief town of the Shahabad District in Bihar, where the record was found, and where presumably stood the temple of the God Varuṇavāsin to whom the grant was made.³ But Dr. Fleet, while editing the record, very clearly pointed out that the village that was granted was either Vāruṇikā or Kiśoravāṭaka, another village mentioned in the inscription. The damaged state of the record makes it uncertain which of these two villages was granted, and we have no right to assume definitely that it was the one or the other. Now, supposing that the village granted was Kiśoravāṭaka, we have no means to determine its locality, not even whether it was in Magadha. For all we know, it might have been in the neighbourhood of Gomatikotṭaka, the royal camp from which the grant was issued. Fleet has suggested that this place 'must evidently be looked for somewhere along the river Gomati, the modern Gomti or Gumti, which flows into the Ganges about half-way between Benares and Ghazipur, and about 85 miles to the west of Deo-Baraṇārka'. It is not impossible that this village was in U.P. and was granted to the temple by King Bālādityadeva, who ruled over both these territories; and later, the two Maukhari

¹ Edited by Fleet in *CII*, III, 213ff.

² Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri (*PHAI.*, pp. 512, fn. 1, 528ff.), Dr. D. C. Ganguly (*IHQ.*, XII, p. 457), Dr. Tripathi (*Kanauj*, p. 45).

³ Dr. D. C. Ganguly (*op. cit.*) expressly mentions Vāruṇikā as the village; Dr. Raychaudhuri refers to the 'grant of a village in South Bihar' (*op. cit.*); while Dr. Tripathi says of 'this grant in the modern Shahabad District' (*op. cit.*).

kings continued the grant although the temple itself was outside their kingdom, such a course of conduct being certainly not unusual in ancient India. Then, again, the grant lapsed for some causes until Jivitagupta who possessed the land in question again restored the grant. Thus the inscription, far from proving the Maukhari suzerainty over Magadha during the reigns of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, may be regarded as a reminiscence of the re-conquest of a portion of the old Maukhari kingdom by Jivitagupta II. This also satisfactorily explains why 'not a word is said about the Later Gupta kings (who were contemporaries of Śarvavarman and Avantivarman) in connection with the previous grant of the village'.¹ It may be noted in passing that this argument really cuts both ways, for the inscription does not also refer to Ādityasena and his two successors who certainly ruled over Magadha. The absence of all references to them in connection with the renewal of the grant is also satisfactorily explained by assuming that the village in question was situated outside their kingdom.

It would appear from what has been said above, that the Deo-Baraṇārka Inscription does not prove the possession of Magadha or any part of it by the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman.

III. RAJIBPUR SADĀŚIVA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF GOPĀLA III— YEAR 14

In a note published in *JRASBL.* (Vol. VII, p. 216) I pointed out that the numerical symbol, read as 4, in this record was unlike the figure used for 4 in the Pāla records. My view was based on the facsimile published in the *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1936-7, Pl. XXXV(c). Since then Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has published a facsimile of the same record in *IHQ.*, XVII, p. 217, Pl. II. Curiously enough, the figure in question here is exactly like 4. Being unable to explain this discrepancy I made several attempts to examine the original image, now in the Indian Museum. Unfortunately, the Museum being closed, I could not do so. As it may be long before I get such an opportunity, I wish to note here that the facsimile published by Dr. Bhattasali leaves no doubt that the date has been correctly read as 14.

¹ This argument is advanced by Dr. Raychaudhuri (*op cit.*).

MISCELLANEA

SYMBOLISM OF HINDU NUPTIALS

The Meaning of a Symbol

A symbol is a 'thing regarded by general consent as naturally typifying or representing or recalling something by possession of analogous qualities or by association in fact or thought'. A symbol is not important by itself. It has only a vehicular value and conveys something beyond it. It is a mode of expression which vivifies abstract, subtle, unfamiliar or supernatural ideas before common folk. In ancient times, when human fancy was stronger and the human speech was not adequately developed to express every shade of thought, symbols played a very important part. In religion and mythology they were commonly used. But even now they have not lost their value. The most up-to-date political ideology, which recognizes little use of religion, employs symbols for its ends and ideals.

Sacramental Marriage and Symbol

Hindu marriage which the nuptials solemnize is not a social contract in the modern sense of the term, but a religious institution, a sacrament. By it we mean that besides the two human parties, the bride and the bridegroom, there is a third superhuman, spiritual or divine element in marriage. The physical conditions of the two parties are always subject to change and, as such, they cannot form the permanent basis of marriage. It is on the third element that the permanent relationship between the husband and the wife depends. The husband and the wife are responsible not only to each other, but they owe a greater allegiance to this third element. This is the religious or mystic touch in the purely social and material contract between a man and a woman. Without it the conjugal life loses its charm and durability. The mystic aspect of the Hindu marriage necessitates the use of a number of symbols.

Marriage a Union of the Fittest Couple

In the very beginning of the Hindu nuptials there is a ceremony which symbolizes the union of the fittest parties. This ceremony, called Arghya 'Showing Respect',¹ while conferring great honour

¹ Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, I, 3. 1-32.

on the bridegroom, indicates that he is the best of his sex and equals. Having ordered a seat for the bridegroom, the father-in-law says, 'Well Sir, sit down. We will do honour to you, Sir'. They get for him a couch of grass, to sit down on, another for feet, water for washing the feet, water for sipping, and the honey-mixture in a brass vessel with a cover of brass. The bridegroom accepts the couch and sitting thereon says, 'I am the highest one among my peoples as the sun is among the shining ones. Here I tread on whosoever infests me'.¹ On this occasion the guest of honour, accepting his dues from the father-in-law, makes a statement wherein he publicly declares that he is the fittest match for the bride.

Marriage a New Bond

Some of the most important items of the nuptials are those which symbolize that marriage creates a new bond between the bride and the bridegroom. They are united like two young plants, which are uprooted from two different plots and are transplanted into a new one. They have to rear up this union by dedicating their entire energy in the direction of their common interest and ideal. One such item is Somañjana or 'Anointment'.² The father of the bride is required to anoint the pair. While this ceremony is being performed, the bridegroom recites the verse, 'May the Viśvedevāḥ, may the Waters unite our hearts. May Mātariśvā, may Dhātṛ, may Deṣṭṛ join us'.³ The anointment is symbolical of 'Sneha' or love and consequently of the union of the pair. Another ceremony of this type is the Pāṇigrahaṇa or the 'Grasping of the Bride's Hand'.⁴ The bridegroom seizes the right hand of the bride with the verse, 'I seize thy hand for the sake of happiness, that thou mayest live to old age with me, thy husband. Bhaga, Aryamā, Savitr, gods have given thee to me, that we may rule over the household. This I am. That art thou. That art thou, this am I. The Sāman am I, the Rk thou; the Heaven I, the Earth thou. Come let us marry'.⁵ This ceremony is symbolical of physical bond between the husband and the wife. The next ceremony of this kind is the Hṛdayasparśa or 'Touching the Heart

¹ यथोऽस्मि समानानामुद्यतामिव सूर्यः etc. *Ibid.*, I, 3. 9.

² *Ibid.*, I, 4. 15.

³ समस्तान् विश्वे देवाः समापो हृदयाणि नो ।

सन्मार्तिश्वा सन्मार्ता सनु देही दधातु नो । *Ibid.*

⁴ Atharvaveda, XIV, 1. 49; Asvalāyana G.S., I, 7. 3; Gobhila G.S., II, 2. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*

of the Bride'.¹ The husband touches the heart of the bride reaching over her right shoulder with the words, 'Into my will I take thy heart; thy mind shall dwell in my mind; in my word thou shall rejoice with all thy heart: May Prajāpati join thee to me'.² This performance indicates that marriage is not only the physical union of two persons but also the union of two hearts or souls. The heart is the centre of feelings. By touching it the husband symbolically tries to rouse the soft emotions of the wife and make them flow out to meet his own and thus to create a real union in the psychic world. One more ceremony may be mentioned in this connection. In the Sthālīpāka or the 'Common Dinner'³ the husband makes the wife eat the mess of cooked food with the words, 'I add breath to thy breath, bones to thy bones, flesh to thy flesh, skin to thy skin'.⁴ Here both the material and the vital selves of the husband and the wife are united.

Marriage a Permanent and Stable Union

Marriage is not a temporary contract to serve the momentary physical demand or to enjoy good company for some time and then to lapse at the slightest inconvenience. It is a permanent union which stands various vicissitudes in life only to grow stronger and more stable. This fact has been symbolized by a number of ceremonies in the Hindu Nuptials. In the Aśmārohaṇa or 'Mounting the Stone'⁵ ceremony the husband makes the wife tread on a stone repeating the verse, 'Tread on this stone; like a stone be firm'.⁶ Stone is a symbol of firmness and strength. The wife is exhorted to be adamant in her conjugal fidelity. Another ceremony of this class is Dhruvadarśana or 'Looking at the Pole Star'.⁷ In the night the bridegroom shows to the bride the Pole Star with the verse, 'Firm art thou; I see thee the firm one. Firm be thou with me, O thriving one. To me Bṛhaspati has given thee obtaining offsprings through me, thy husband, live with me a hundred autumns'.⁸ Here two things are indicated. Firstly, the wife should be as firm and fixed as the Pole Star is amidst innumerable moving bodies in the firmament. Secondly, the union should last for a hundred years which is the normal span of human life. Thus the

¹ Pāraskara G.S., I, 8. 8.

² मम व्रते ते हृदयं दधामि मम चित्तमनुविशं ते अक्षु । *Ibid.*

³ Pāraskara G.S., I, 11. 5.

⁴ प्राचक्षे प्राणान्दधामि, etc. *Ibid.*

⁵ Śāmkhyāyana G.S., I, 3. 19.

⁶ चारोचमस्तानमस्तमेव क्षिरा भव । *Ibid.*

⁷ Pāraskara G.S., I, 8. 19.

⁸ भुवमसि भुवं ना पश्यामि, etc. *Ibid.*

firm and life-long companionship is the objective in view. This aspect of marriage is highly prized and the husband prays to the goddess Sarasvatī to protect it: 'Sarasvatī, promote this undertaking, O gracious one, bountiful one, thou whom will sing first of all that is; in whom what is; has been born; in whom this whole world dwells—that song I will sing today, which will be the highest glory of women'.¹

Biological Symbolism of Marriage

The primary function of marriage is racial, that is, the continuity of the race through the procreation of children. In the Hindu nuptials, there are various ceremonies that point out this fact and intend to make the union fruitful, to avert the dangers associated with the sexual intercourse and to facilitate the various stages of the process of generation. After accepting the bride formally given away by her father, the bridegroom puts a very significant question to the guardian of the girl. 'Who has given this bride to me?' The answer is, 'Kāma or the God of Love'.² It means that the basic desire to exist through progeny is mainly responsible for marriage. In another place we find a reference to the biological development of the bride, her preparedness for a married life and consequent procreation of children. The bridegroom reminds the bride, 'First Soma had thee for his bride; the Gaṁdharva had thee next; Agni was thy third husband; thy fourth husband am I, born of man. Soma gave thee to Gaṁdharva; the Gaṁdharva gave to Agni; and Agni has given thee to me for wealth and sons'.³ These verses are explained by Sāyaṇa thus, 'While yet desire for sexual intercourse has not arisen Soma enjoys the girl; when it has just begun the Gandharva takes her; and at marriage transfers her to Agni, from whom man obtains her (possessing capacity) for producing wealth and sons'.⁴ The Smṛtis offer a clearer interpretation of the above obscure passage: 'Soma gave them (women) purity; the Gaṁdharva bestowed sweet speech; and Agni Sarva-medhatva or purity. Therefore women are always in possession of Sarvamedhatva or purity'.⁵ A modern writer further clarifies the suggestion. 'Soma is Sasyādhipati, the Lord of the vegetable world; and presides also over the mind. . . The physical growth of the girl, including that of the hair is under the care of the god Soma. The mind of the girl also develops under his guidance. . .

¹ Pāraskara G.S., I, 7. 2.

³ R̥gveda, X, 85. 40, 41.

⁵ Atrismṛti, 137.

² कोऽदात् । काम रति ।

⁴ Sāyaṇa on the above verses.

The Gaṁdharva is the master of graces. It is his function to make woman's body beautiful and to add richness to her tone. Under his care the pelvis develop, the breasts become round and attractive. The eyes begin to speak the language of love and the whole body acquires a rich hue. His work is advanced and he hands her on to Agni. Who is Agni? He is the Lord of Fire, the Lord of Agni-tattva. Nature is radiant with colour and joy in Spring and Summer. Animals breed in Spring. . . . Agni is the fructifier. It is he who brings about the menstrual flow and women then can bear children. Agni then gives her to man, her fourth pati or lord'.¹ In the 'Grasping of the Hand' ceremony also the biological aspect of marriage is fully brought out. The bridegroom says to the bride, 'The Heaven am I, the Earth thou. Come let us marry. Let us unite our sperm. Let us beget offsprings. Let us acquire many sons and may they reach old age. Loving, bright with genial minds, may we see a hundred autumns, may we live a hundred autumns'.² Just as in the Vedic pantheon, the Heaven and the Earth (Dyāvā Pṛthivī) are the parents of gods or shining ones, so the husband and the wife are expected to generate a world of their own.

Marriage should be Fruitful and Prosperous

The nuptials symbolize not only the biological function of marriage but also employ a number of symbols which refer to the fertility and prosperity of the married life. There is the Lājā-Homa³ or 'offerings of Fried Grains into Fire' ceremony in which the brother of the bride pours out of his joined hands fried grains mixed with Śami leaves. The bride offers them with firmly joined hands standing, while the bridegroom recites the verse, 'To the god Aryaman the girl has made sacrifice, to Agni. May he, god Aryaman, loosen us from here, and not from the husband's side. Svāhā!' The girl strewing grains prayed thus, 'May my husband live long; my relations be prosperous. Svāhā! This grain I have thrown into the fire; may this bring prosperity to thee, and may it unite me with thee. May Agni grant us N. N. Svāhā'.⁴ Here grains and leaves are symbols of fruitfulness and prosperity. There is another ceremony which emphasizes the same thing. According to the Gṛhyasūtras, a strong man snatches the bride up from the ground and sets her down in an eastern or northern direction on a red bulls' hide with the word, 'Here may the cows sit down, here

¹ The Aryan Marriage, pp. 26, 27.

² द्यौरं पृथ्वीं वा । तावेहि विषयावहे सद्य रतो दद्यावहे, etc. Hiranyakeśi G.S., I, 6. 20. 1.

³ Pāraskara G.S., I, 6. 1.

⁴ Pāraskara G.S., I, 6.

the horses, here the men. Here may sacrifice with thousand gifts, here may Pūsan sit down'.¹ The bull, the horse, the cows, the men, the sacrifice are all recognized as signs of virility and fecundity. The idea of, and a strong desire for, a prosperous life is better expressed in the ceremony called Saptapadi or the 'Rite of Taking Seven Steps'.² The husband makes the wife step forward in a northern direction seven steps with the words, 'One step for sap, two for juice, three for the prospering of wealth, four for comforts, five for cattle, six for the seasons. Friend, be with seven steps (united to me). So be thou devoted to me'.³

Marriage a Crisis : Removal of Evil Influences

Marriage is the most critical event in the life of a man and ushers in quite a new era in his life. It establishes a novel relation between two persons, which is attended by many anticipations, hopes and fears. In the nuptials various attempts are made to remove the dangers (associated with the crisis of marriage). The father of the bride, while making the pair face each other, exhorts her in the following words: 'Be thou of benign and pleasing eyes; never cherish an evil design against your husband; be kind and well-wishing to cattle and others dependent like them; be always cheerful and prosperous; be the mother of heroic sons; sacrifice to the gods; be happy, be auspicious to us, bipeds and quadrupeds'.⁴ The first fears and doubts are about the bride who is to form the nucleus of the home and has to deal not only with her husband but also with his dependents and cattle. In relation with all these she is expected to be affectionate, kind and generous. In the Rāṣṭrabhṛta sacrifice bridegroom seeks protection from important gods and Fathers against all possible dangers which might be lurking in a married life. He says, 'Let Fire, the Lord of creatures protect me, let Indra the Lord of the Great protect me; let Yama, the Lord of the Earth, protect me . . .'.⁵ In the Abhiṣiñcana, 'Sprinkling of water'⁶ ceremony, the waters are requested to ensure a perfect health and all-round peace: 'Let the waters, which are auspicious, the most auspicious, peaceful the most peaceful, be health-giving medicine to you'.⁷ Then there is a Sumamgate (Auspicious) ceremony in which the bridegroom invites the assembled guests and relatives to bless her with the following words: 'Auspicious ornaments does this woman wear, come to her and behold her.

¹ Pāraskara G.S., I, 8. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 4. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 8. 5.

² *Ibid.*, I, 8. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 5. 7-II.

⁷ *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

Having brought luck to her, go away back to your houses'.¹ At the close of the nuptials there is a ceremony, called Caturthī-Karma,² which is performed on the fourth day after marriage. The husband offers oblations with the verses, 'Agni! Expiation! Thou art the expiation of the gods. I, the Brāhmaṇa, entreat thee, desirous of protection. The substance that dwells in her, that brings death to her husband, that extirpate in her. Svāhā!'³ Next he sprinkles water on the bride with the words, 'The evil substances that dwell in thee, that bring death to thy husband, children, cattle, house and fame, that I change into one that brings death to thy paramour. Thus live with me to an old age'.⁴ In all these ceremonies the critical nature of marriage and the dangers attendant thereon are realized and attempts are made to remove them. Here one thing particularly is noteworthy. The bride is supposed to be more susceptible to dangers than the bridegroom and, therefore, she is the centre of auspicious ceremonies.

Marriage not a Licence

The fact that marriage is not a passport for sexual indulgence but a human institution aiming at moderation in the conjugal life, has been emphasized at the end of the nuptials, when the Trirātravrata or the 'Observance of Continence for Three Nights'⁵ is undertaken. 'Through a period of three nights they shall eat no saline food, they shall sleep on the ground; they shall refrain from the sexual intercourse through one year, or at least three nights'.⁶ The symbolism of this observance seems to be to give a lesson in moderation to the married couple.

Marriage a Social Change and a Sacrifice

The nuptials in their utterances, promises, hopes and fears symbolize a great social transition in the life of the bride and the bridegroom. They are no longer irresponsible youths depending for their bread and views on their parents. The seriousness of life dawns upon them. They forsake their old families to form a new one. They have to run an independent home, to earn their own livelihood, to procreate children and to discharge their obligations towards gods, Fathers and the creatures of the world. This is the life of responsibilities and cares.

¹ Pāraskara G.S., I, 8. 9.

² Pāraskara G.S., I, 11. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 8. 21.

⁴ Āpastamba G.S., 8. 8; Khādīra G.S., I, 4. 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

Thus the general function of nuptial symbolism is to cover all the aspects of married life. The biological significance, the critical nature, the physical and mental union of the couple, moderation, the social transition and sacrifice—these are the main features of the Hindu nuptials. They have been symbolically suggested but not described in transparent prose, because conveyed through symbols, they are better emphasized and become more eloquent and telling.

R. B. PANDEY.

THE NANDAS AND THE MAURYS FROM TAMIL SOURCES

I. ON THE NANDAS

The Śāṅgam Literature of the Tamils is considered to be a valuable source of information to ancient south Indian History. It is equally valuable in throwing a flood of light on the North Indian History as well. Among the Śāṅgam works, the most valuable anthologies are the Ahanānūru and the Puṛānānūru. A Śāṅgam celebrity like Māmūlanār has occasion to refer to the Nandas and their great wealth. At the same breath he makes mention of the Mauryas whom he designates *vamba* or 'the new'. It is almost certain that this great poet Māmūlanār was a contemporary of Bindusāra, if not of Aśoka. There is a significant line in Aham, 251,

Nandan verukkai eaitinum maṛṛa.

If we read this, with another passage by the same author

Palpukaḷ niraṇda Velpōr Nandar

Śirmiku Pāṭalik Kulik-Kangai

Nirmutar Karanda nidiyaṅ Kollō (Aham 265)

there is a strong confirmation that the reference is undoubtedly to the imperial Nandas who occupied the throne of Magadha at Pāṭaliputra before the Mauryas. In the second passage there is a definite mention of Pāṭali, and this Pāṭali cannot be anything else than Pāṭaliputra, the rich capital of the great Nandas whose valour and wealth are a matter for praise by the Tamil poet. This passage is important from more than one standpoint. It states that the Nandas had lavished their capital with their magnificent riches, and even hoarded some of their wealth in the city. For the poet tells us with regret that such immense riches had been swept away

by the floods of the Ganges. This is an additional information which has been well corroborated by the archaeologist. Below the bottom of the Gupta walls, we observe a belt of virgin soil eight feet thick distributed evenly over the floor. This cannot be except by floods of an unprecedented character, because 'the soil is Ganges silt and virgin'. In the light of the remarks by the archaeologist we have no hesitation to credit the testimony of the Tamil Śāṅgam poet. When he wrote, he did not draw from his imagination but he made a statement of fact.

The archaeologist has further recorded another catastrophe that befell the Pāṭali capital. It was fire. Black ash and charcoal lying like a pall over the Mauryan structures are evidences of their destruction by an outbreak of fire. This incident is not noted by Māmūlanār. Evidently Māmūlanār did not live when this incident of fire took place at Pāṭaliputra. It was at a later stage and possibly before the Guptas put up their walls (see for details my *Mauryan Polity*—Madras University, pp. 61-63). This only shows that the Nanda sway was felt even in distant Tamil kingdoms and that there was frequent intercourse, mostly commercial and cultural, between North and South in the epoch of the Nandas, who were themselves very prosperous.

II. ON THE MAURYS

That Śāṅgam poet Māmūlanār seems to have had an historical bent of mind. His reference to the Nanda rule and capital is remarkable enough. Much more remarkable is his pointed reference to the new dynasty of the Mauryas. He speaks of 'Mākeḷu tānai vamba mōriyar' (Aham 251). He refers to the Mōriyar in another passage (Aham 281). The burden of the song in these passages is the recording of the fact of a Mauryan invasion to the South. The Mauryan army consisted chiefly of the war-chariot.

Viṇporu neḍuvarai iyaltēr mōriyar
 Ponpunai tikiri tiritarak kuraitta
 Varai (Aham 69).

The above lines are by another poet of the Śāṅgam age, Parankorṇanār by name. In their expedition to the south which was interspersed by hills and mountains, the main arm of the Mauryan army was the chariot. No doubt horses and elephants are mentioned as following the imperial army. But the war chariot figures prominently. Three poets have referred to this incident—Māmūlanār, Parankorṇanār and Attiraiyanār. The contribution of Attiraiyanār is found in the anthology of Puṇam (Puṇam, 175). All of them refer

independently to the Mauryan war chariot. Besides demonstrating the value and use of a chariot for purposes of war, in ancient times, its application especially in mountain tracts is noteworthy. The war chariot was the tank of Hindu warfare. That this army must have been accompanied by a number of sappers and miners is evident from the fact that the hard rocks of the hills were cut down so as to get free passage for the chariot wheels. To cut down rocks and get a clear pathway for the chariot and the army to pass freely must have been a work of great magnitude and toil for the hardy sappers and miners of the Mauryan army. The chariot was adorned with flying banners and a lofty umbrella. The umbrella was an insignia of Hindu royalty and was an unfailing sign of an emperor (Cakravartin).

From the Aham, 251, we are to infer that the Kośar, a South Indian tribe were friendly to the imperial Mauryās. They helped the North Indian army in their march to the heart of the Tamilagam. For it is said that the drums during the battle were sounded on the Podiyil hill. This was in the ancient Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The stanza further tells us that it was the king of Mohūr who was not willing to accept the suzerainty of the Mauryas. The Mohūr chieftain was apparently a sāmanta chief, ruling independently of the three Tamil kingdoms. There has been constant warfare between this chief and the Tamil kings. We see in the Śilappadikāram that Śenguttuvan had a successful engagement with the then chief of Mohūr, Paḷaiyan by name. I have identified the Kośar with Satyaputras of Aśoka (Ind. Culture, Vol. I, Pt. III, pp. 493-96). They had earned a name for speaking truth and truth only. They aided the Mauryan army in their defeat of this recalcitrant chief of Mohūr who challenged the emperor of North India. The Kośar were not the only allies of the Mauryas. The verse 281, Aham, refers to the help given by another South Indian tribe Vaḍukar. The chief war weapon of the Vaḍukar was the arrow. The poet says that the Vaḍukar formed the vanguard of the Mauryan army invading the South,

Muranmiku vaḍukar munnura moriyar.

Who the Vaḍukar were cannot be exactly determined. The literal meaning of the term Vaḍukar is the 'people of the north'. This north is only north of the Tamilagam. In the Śaṅgam age the northern limit of the Tamil country proper was the Tirupati hills; a portion of South Mysore and even a part of the present South Canara formed the North-Western boundary of the Tamil country. Those who resided beyond these borders were generally named Vaḍukar by the Tamils. This means that the Vaḍukar can be

identified partly with the Kanarese people and partly with the Telugus. This is further attested by the testimony of the Sanskritists who define Dravida as the land occupied by the Tamils and Malayalis of the West coast. Neither the Andhra country nor the Kanarese formed a part of the ancient Dravida deśa. This perhaps explains why the Vaṭukar and the Kośar readily enlisted themselves in the rank and file of the imperial Mauryan army as against the Tamil chief. But for the help given by these South Indian tribes, it would not have been possible for the Mauryan conqueror to penetrate the far south.

The next question is who was the Mauryan Emperor who led this expedition to the south. It cannot be Aśoka, for from both literary and epigraphical evidences he made no new conquest, except his reconquest of Kalinga. And further Aśoka's inscriptions give us definitely what the boundary limits of his empire were. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that a predecessor of Aśoka was responsible for the extension of the Empire in the south. The possibility that it might have been Chandragupta Maurya has to be ruled out. For he had enough and more engagements nearer home and in the distant North-West. He was more anxious to consolidate what he had gained than to enter fresh conquests. Therefore it must be Bindusāra who was responsible for the Deccan and South Indian expeditions. It can be said without any fear of contradiction that Bindusāra carried his army to the very south, and became the ally of the Tamil Kings. This was kept up by his well-known successor Aśoka.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR.

THE PREDECESSORS OF THE GUPTAS IN MAGADHA

In spite of the research work done during the last hundred years, there are still some dark periods in the realm of ancient Indian History. One such period is the history of Magadha after the dismemberment of the Mauryan empire and before the rise of the Guptas. What we know from Purāṇas does not throw much light on the subject. According to their testimony Mauryan dynasty was supplanted in c. 184 B.C. by Puśyamitra Śunga, who then usurped the throne. The Śunga dynasty lasted for 112 years, and then the Kāṇvāyanas or Kāṇvas seized power in about 72 B.C.; they in turn, after a brief rule of 45 years, were uprooted by the Andhras in or about 29 B.C. Then we hear about Guptas when Chandragupta I came to Magadhan throne in 320 A.D.

Puśyamitra's dominion extended up to the Punjab in the North and the Narmadā in the South. Pāṭaliputra continued to be imperial seat. After him we do not know anything about Magadha with certitude. In the reign of his son Agnimitra, Magadha ceased to be the leader of Indian nations and Pāṭaliputra the metropolis of India. Vidiśā in eastern Mālwa is seen in prominence, but there is nothing to show that Magadha was ever excluded from his domains. That the Kāṇvāyanas (successors of the Śungas) ruled over Magadha is generally recognized¹ but about Andhras scholars differ in their views. Raychaudhury does not think it probable that they ruled in Magadha proper² but others acknowledge their conquest of Magadha in the first century B.C.³ But their rule over Magadha till the rise of the Guptas has not been acknowledged by any scholar at all.

In the absence of any definite evidence about the political history of Magadha, the century preceded the rise of the Guptas has been reconstructed on mere surmises. Relying on I-tsing's testimony, which is based on hearsay, some believe that Pāṭaliputra comprised in the territories of Chandragupta I's ancestors.⁴ Vincent Smith is of opinion that Lichchhavis were ruling over it⁵; while R. D. Banerjee says that it was ruled by some Scythian Satrap or by some chief of Magadha who had alliance with the later Great Kushānas of Muttra or the Punjab.⁶

My recent studies have brought to light certain interesting facts, which render all these views untenable and show that the Āndhras were undoubtedly the rulers of the Magadha at the time of the Guptas' rise.

Kaliyuga-rāj-Vṛttānta of the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa* is a valuable treatise on the post-Bhārata history of India, but so far scholars had paid no attention to its merit. It reveals some interesting facts about the Guptas and the rulers immediately preceding them. According to it, an Āndhra king named Chandraśrī was the ruler of Magadha, who was related to Chandragupta, son of Ghatotkachagupta (i.e. Chandragupta I of Gupta dynasty) through his wife. The wives of these two were sisters of Lichchhavi descent. Chandragupta was appointed commander-in-chief of the Magadhan army

¹ N. N. Ghosh: *Early History of India*, p. 200; Jayachandra Vidyānākar: *Bhārtiya Itihās ki ruprekha*, p. 768.

² H. C. Raychaudhury: *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 334.

³ R. D. Banerjee: *The age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 5-6; Jayachandra Vidyānākar *Bhārtiya Itihās ki ruprekha*, p. 796.

⁴ R. S. Tripathi: *History of Ancient India*, p. 239.

⁵ V. Smith: *Early History of India* (4th edition), p. 295.

⁶ R. D. Banerjee: *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 2, 5.

with the help of his wife's relatives, i.e. Lichchhavis, and later was promoted to the post of *raṣṭriyasyālaka* (?). He killed the king Chandraśrī on the instigation of his queen, his sister-in-law; and then rebelled against her and killed her son Pulomā and usurped the throne and ousted the Āndhras.¹ And again it refers to Chandraśrī Śātakarṇi, known as Vaśiṣṭhi-putra, as ruling for three years and his son Pulomā as ruling for seven years under the regency of Chandragupta, son of Ghatotkachagupta (i.e. Chandragupta I of Gupta dynasty).² Thus we are informed that the king ruling over Magadha before Guptas was Chandraśrī Śātakarṇi Vaśiṣṭhi-putra and he had a minor son Pulomā.

The *Kaumudī-mahotsava*, a play by Vajjika,³ refers one Sundaravarman, as the ruler of Magadha, having his capital at Pāṭali-putra. He had an adopted son Chaṇḍasena, who had a marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis. With their help he besieged Pāṭali-putra and his adoptive father was killed and he won the throne for himself. Sundaravarman had a son named Kalyāṇavarman. On the death of the king the prince was shifted to the hills of Kish-kindha by his faithful ministers. When he attained majority, he came back to Magadha, defeated Chaṇḍasena and ascended the throne.

¹ त्रीषटोत्कचगुप्तस्य तनयोऽमितविज्जनः ।

.. ..
 खल्वप्रवेशो राज्येऽस्मिन् क्षिप्त्वावीनां सहायतः ।
 सेनाध्यक्षपदं प्राप्य मामासैन्यसमन्वितः ॥
 क्षिप्त्वावीनां समुदाहृत्य देव्याचन्द्रत्रियोजनाम् ।
 राष्ट्रियस्यालको भूत्वा राजपत्न्या च चोदितः ॥
 चन्द्रत्रियं घातयित्वा मिषेणैव हि केनचित् ।

 तत्पुत्रं च पुच्छोमानं विनिहत्य स्वपार्श्वकम् ॥
 चान्द्रभ्यो मागधं राज्यं प्रसह्याऽपचरिष्यति ।

As quoted by Dr. M. Krishnamachariar in the *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Introduction, p. cii-ciii.

² चन्द्र त्री मातकर्षितु त्रीषि वर्षाणि भोष्यति ।

वसिष्ठपुत्र नाम्ना तु ख्यातो यस्य भविष्यति ।
 पुच्छोमाऽपि तथा चान्यस्समासप्त भविष्यति ।
 षटोत्कचस्य पुत्रेव चन्द्रगुप्तेन पाक्षितः ॥

Ibid.

³ *Journal of Andhra Research Society*, Vols. II and III; Dakshina Bharatiya Sanskrit Series.

Jayaswal thinks that the authoress of the play was a contemporary witness of the events described in the play. A historical drama cannot be taken as true in every detail, but at the same time it cannot be denied that it has usually some substratum of facts. The names might be fictitious but the characters can undoubtedly be taken as the personalities of the time.

If we minutely scrutinize the description given in the *Kaliyuga-rāj-Vṛittānta* and the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* we find that the throne of Magadha was usurped by a relative of the ruler, who had marriage alliance with the Lichchhavis. The ruler was killed and his minor son ruled for some time and then he was also killed. Having these facts before us, we may identify Chandragupta, Chandraśri and Pulomā of *Kaliyuga-rāj-Vṛittānta* with Chaṇḍasena, Sundarvarman and Kalyāṇavarman of *Kaumudī-mahotsava* respectively.

In *Kaumudī-mahotsava* Kalyāṇavarman is referred as Karṇi-putra.¹ Here Karṇi undoubtedly refers to Sundarvarman and it is most likely the abbreviation of Śātakarṇi. We know Śātakarṇi is the name of Pulomā's father. Thus Sundarvarman may positively be recognized as Chandraśri Śātakarṇi of *Kaliyuga-rāj-Vṛittānta* and his son Kalyāṇavarman with Pulomā. About Chandragupta of *Kaliyuga-rāja-Vṛittānta* the mention of Ghatotkachagupta as his father is self evidence that he was no other than Chandragupta I of Gupta dynasty. Jayaswal has also identified Chaṇḍasena of *Kaumudī-mahotsava* with Chandragupta I of Gupta dynasty, who is identical with the Chandragupta of *Kaliyuga-rāja-Vṛittānta*.

Thus from two independent sources we come to know that the Guptas usurped the throne of Magadha from the Āndhras, and the rulers of the dynasty, contemporaries to him were Chandraśri Śātakarṇi and Pulomā.

Śātavāhanas are called Āndhras in the Purāṇas and they call themselves as Śātakarṇi. Further we know from the *Matsya-purāṇa* that Chandraśri Śātakarṇi and Pulahmavi were the last rulers of the dynasty. All these facts lead one to identify them with the Āndhra rulers of Magadha referred to above.

Now it is clear that the last two rulers of the Śātavāhana dynasty were contemporary to Chandragupta I; and leaves no ground to doubt that prior to the rise of the Guptas and after the fall of Kāṇvas, the Śātavāhanas were ruling over Magadha down to c. 315 A.D.

The genealogy and chronology of Śātavāhana dynasty is still a problem, which has not yet been satisfactorily solved. According to the *Matsya-purāṇa* the Śātavāhanas ruled for about four centuries

¹ चर्को तु बलु विटजनाभ्यर्चित-कर्णीपुत्र-कौर्णिकस्य। सङ्कत-राजनामस्य कुसुमपुरवेष्टस्य परः श्रीः ।

and a half and for 300 years according to *Vāyu-purāṇa*. The number of rulers in the dynasty also varies from 17 to 30 in various manuscripts of the *Purāṇas*.¹ Moreover, some new names, unknown from any other sources, have come to light from their coins.² So it is not easy to assign any period to any ruler of this dynasty with any amount of certitude. The date of the fall of *Kāṇvas* is known to be c. 29 B.C. This must be the date of Simuka, the founder of the *Śātavāhana* dynasty. But, at the same time, there may be possibility that he ascended the throne earlier—say sometime about the middle of first century B.C.³ The period between the accession of Simuka and that of the accession of Chandragupta I (320 A.D.) is not far from the Pauranic assignment to *Śātavāhana* reign; and it may be taken as correct. In the circumstances there is nothing which could bar the recognition of the contemporaneity of the last rulers of this dynasty and of Chandragupta I of Gupta dynasty.

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA.

CANDEŚVARA'S INDEBTEDNESS TO BALLĀLA SENA

We have discussed elsewhere Candēśvara's indebtedness to Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa⁴ and to Śrīdatta.⁵ Now we are going to discuss Candēśvara's indebtedness to Ballāla Sena, a Hindu King of Bengal who flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century and produced four works on Dharmaśāstra, one of which has been fully published, another partially published and the remaining two of which are known only from references in his published works. The fully published work is the *Adbhutasāgara*⁶ and the partially published work is the *Dānasāgara*,⁷ while the unpublished works which seem to have been lost are the *Ācārasāgara* and *Pratiṣṭhāsāgara*. The partially printed edition of the *Dānasāgara* is based⁸ upon the three Calcutta MSS. of the same, one of which belongs to the Society's collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and has, therefore,

¹ H. C. Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 337-39.

² *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. II, p. 85.

³ R. S. Tripathi: *History of Ancient India*, pp. 191-92.

⁴ *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XXIII (1937), pp. 138-142.

⁵ *N.I.A.*, Vol. V (1942), pp. 36-38.

⁶ Published by Prabhakari & Co., Benares, 1905.

⁷ Edited with Bengali introduction and translation, by S. C. Kaviratna, Calcutta (1914-1919) (pp. 1-16, 1-316) up to pañcalāṅgalamahādāna.

⁸ Vide p. 3 of the Bengali introduction of the same.

not been described by the late MM. Haraprasad Shastri in his Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the Government of India Collection, Vol. III (1925) and the remaining two of which are deposited in two private libraries of Calcutta. The MS. of the *Dānasāgara*, existing in the India Office Collection of London, has been so fully described in the I.O. Catalogue that it has helped Mr. (now Mahāmahopādhyāya) P. V. Kane to draw pointed attention of the scholars in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I,¹ to the invaluable merit of the *Dānasāgara* in checking the contents of the extant Purāṇas. Dr. R. C. Hazra who acted up to the advice² of Mahāmahopādhyāya Kane in fixing the chronology of the Purāṇas by producing his '*Studies in Puranic records on Hindu rites and customs*,'³ consulted the India Office MS. of the *Dānasāgara* which helped him in checking the contents of the extant purāṇas as previously indicated by Mr. Kane. But neither Mr. Kane nor Dr. Hazra has utilized or even mentioned the Calcutta edition of the *Dānasāgara*, which, though incomplete, was published in Devanāgarī script and earlier than the works of both. Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar who has recently edited the *Bṛhaspatismṛti*⁴ and *Kṛtyakalpataru*⁵ in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* has utilized the Calcutta edition of the *Dānasāgara* in the former and the R.A.S.B. MS. of the same in the latter work. He has thus drawn for the first time attention to the partially printed edition of the work and its full MS., deposited in the library of the R.A.S.B.

We shall now consider Caṇḍeśvara's indebtedness to Ballāla Sena. Now as Caṇḍeśvara has quoted Ballāla Sena's *Dānasāgara* and no other work in his *Kṛtyaratnākara* only, so our study will concern itself with the enumeration and identification of the quotations from Ballāla Sena's *Dānasāgara* in Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtyaratnākara*. The index to the *Kṛtyaratnākara*⁶ (p. 641) contains five entries against the *Dānasāgara* and six against *Sāgara*, which is an obvious abbreviation of *Dānasāgara* and I have found out six more quotations from *Sāgara* or *Dānasāgara* in the *Kṛtyaratnākara*. But as the major portion of the *Dānasāgara* is as yet unpublished and as the R.A.S.B. MS. is at present unavailable, so I have contented myself in tracing six only of these seventeen quotations in the *paribhāṣa* chapter of the same (pp. 93-122 of the partially printed edition) which corresponds so closely with the same chapter of the

¹ Vide p. 340.

² *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I (1930), p. 162.

³ Published by the Dacca University, 1940.

⁴ No. LXXXV, 1941.

⁵ Vol. V, No. XCII, 1941.

⁶ Edited by MM. Kamala-Krishna Smrititīrtha, B.I., 1925.

Kṛtyaratnākara (pp. 45-79) in the enumeration and arrangement of topics, quotation of texts and interpretations that not only the six identified quotations but the whole chapter of the *Kṛtyaratnākara* seems to be a faithful copy of the same chapter of the *Dānasāgara* with slight variations. So the mention of the several topics of the *paribhāṣa* chapter of the two works will not be out of place here. The identified quotations from the *Dānasāgara* in the *Kṛtyaratnākara* are also appended below.

	D.S.	K.R.
1. <i>Paribhāṣa</i> in general	.. pp. 93-100	= pp. 45-50.
2. <i>Paribhāṣa</i> for Expiatory rites		
for small lapses	pp. 100-103	= pp. 50-52.
3. „ „ Rites for invalid		
persons	.. pp. 103-4	= pp. 52-3.
4. „ „ Rites for fasting	pp. 104-7	= pp. 53-7.
5. „ „ Rites for noctur-		
nal eating	.. pp. 107-8	= pp. 57-9.
6. „ „ Rites for oblation		
to the sacred fire	pp. 108-112	= pp. 59-62.
7. „ „ Rites for mutter-		
ing prayers	.. pp. 113-5	= pp. 62-5.
8 & 9. „ „ Articles and		
grains	.. p. 116	= pp. 65-9.
10-12. „ „ Seven kinds of		
rice, all grains		
and all scents	.. p. 117	= pp. 69-71.
13-15. „ „ Gems, flavours		
and minerals	.. p. 118	= pp. 71-2.
16. „ „ Substitutes in the		
absence of prin-		
cipal articles	.. pp. 119-20	= pp. 73-6.
17. „ „ Weights and		
measures	.. pp. 120-122	= pp. 76-7.
18 & 19. „ „ Incense and light (wanting in		
	D.S.).....	pp. 77-9.

ABBREVIATIONS

- I.O. = India Office (London).
 R.A.S.B. = Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
 D.S. = *Dānasāgara*.
 K.R. = *Kṛtyaratnākara*.
 B.I. = *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta).

APPENDIX OF THE QUOTATIONS

K.R. D.S.

1. p. 46=p. 94—शक्ताशक्तस्त्रीपुंसाधारणश्च....हरिवंशे तथैवोक्तेरिति सागरः ।
(D.S. reads °हरिवंशोक्तं)
2. p. 50=p. 100—अनुहरणे पाठे.....आत्मप्रशंसाश्चेति सागरः ।
3. p. 51=p. 102—तथाच योगियाञ्चवत्त्वः—यदि....श्रुतिः ॥ इति सागरः ।
4. p. 54=p. 105—सावित्रीजपश्च.....नारायणस्मरणमिति दानसागरः ।
5. pp. 56-7=p. 107—दानसागरे तु उपवासेनेति.....व्रतसागरीयमुखबन्धस्थस्त्री-
व्रतचर्यायामङ्गनदन्तधावनादिनिषेधादित्युक्तम् ।
6. p. 61=p. 111—अश्वत्थन्यग्रोधः.....अश्वत्थस्य पुनर्दूपादानादिति सागरः ।

NOTE

It is generally believed ¹ that Ballāla Sena composed four works on Dharmaśāstra, viz. the *Dānasāgara*, *Adbhutasāgara*, *Ācārasāgara* and *Pratiṣṭhāsāgara*, the MSS. of the former two being extant and the existence of the latter two being inferred from the verses 55 and 56 of the *Dānasāgara* (p. 11 of the printed edition). But I have come across the mention of a fifth work of the name of *Vratasāgara* in two places of the partially printed edition of the *Dānasāgara* (pp. 94 and 107). The first mention is just after हरिवंशोक्तं (1st identified quotation) and occurs in the sentence व्रतसागरीय-स्त्रीव्रतचर्यायामङ्गनसन्धेयम्, while the second mention is found in the fifth identified quotation, the relevant position being व्रतसागरीयमुखबन्धस्थ-स्त्रीव्रतचर्यायाम्° ।

BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA.

¹ Vide *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol I (1930), p. 340; *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (1943), p. 353 (published by Dacca University)

REVIEWS

JAINAGURU MAHĀVĪRA (Prācyavāṇī Mandira Sārvaajanīn Granthamālā Series, Dvitiya Puṣpa), by Dr. Bimala Churn Law. 1944.

It is a nice little book dealing with the life and teachings of Mahāvīra, the well-known founder of Jainism. The book consists of two chapters and in the first chapter the author has ably discussed such important topics as the date of Mahāvīra's attainment of Nirvāna, his influence upon his disciples, his age, his equal treatment towards the *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs*, etc. The second chapter which is devoted to the discussion of important religious instruction of Mahāvīra is very well-written. The author has been successful in giving a clear and lucid account of Mahāvīra's doctrine. The difficult problems of Jainism such as *Syādvāda*, *Kriyāvāda*, *Nirīśvaravāda*, *Avinaśvaravāda*, *Niskrivāda*, *Adrstavāda*, *jñāna*, *darśana* and *caritra*, *jīva* and *ajīva*, *bandha*, *pāpa* and *puṇya*, *āśrava*, *samvara*, *nirjarā*, *mokṣa*, *siddhi*, *karma*, *leśyā*, etc., have received due consideration in this book. A brief account of some of the important Jain men and women has been given in the Appendix. An index has been given to facilitate the study of the subject.

This is the first and the most successful attempt to write in Bengali a book on Mahāvīra and his doctrine. We can safely and strongly recommend this little book to all those interested in Jainism.

S. KAR.

A HISTORY OF THE CANONICAL LITERATURE OF THE JAINAS,
by H R Kapadia. Surat, 1941

This book consists of seven chapters dealing with the genesis of the Jaina Scriptures, classification of the Āgamas, redaction of the Jaina Canon, the extinct Āgamas of the Jainas, the extant Āgamas of the Jainas, the Canonical Exegetical Literature, Comparison and Evaluation. There are two indices which are useful. All these chapters are very helpful and informative and give sufficient evidence to author's sound knowledge of the subject. He has refrained from building up untenable theories and doubtful hypotheses. The author ought to have given a detailed summary of some of the important Jain books in order to make this work more useful. Yet we welcome the publication of this book which will no doubt be a valuable guide in studying Jainism.

T. N. CHAKRAVARTTY.

NĀYĀDHAMMAKAHĀO (the sixth Aṅga of the Śvetāmvara Jain Canon),
critically edited by Prof. N. V. Vaidya. Fergusson College, Poona, 1940.

The author has removed a long-felt want by editing this important Jain text with a list of variant readings given at the end. He has made use of the five manuscripts preserved in the library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. This sixth Aṅga is divided into two *Suyakkhandhas* named as *Nāya* and *Dhammakahā*, the former has 19 subdivisions and the latter has ten, each is called as *Vagga*, which also has subdivisions. This work contains didactic and religious narratives which are useful. It is no doubt a readable edition and in the second edition we expect from the editor some important extracts from the commentary of Abhayadeva Sūri to be published along with the texts, which are absolutely necessary for a better understanding.

H. P. G.

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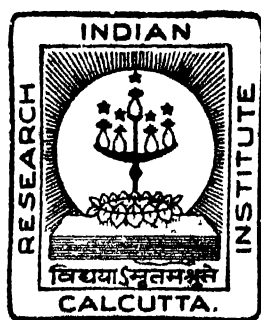
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ANCIENT LANGUAGES OF ASIA MINOR

By BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Professor Sumit Kumar Chatterji in a revealing article recently published in *Indian Culture* (Vol VIII pp 309-322) has drawn the attention of Indian linguists to the Hittite language which, as shown by him throws a flood of light on the prehistory of the Indo-European basic language. A very brief description of the Hittite language was published by me some years ago in the *Journal of the Greater India Society* (Vol VII pp 92-106). In the present paper based chiefly on the writings of Johannes Friedrich I intend to try to present to interested Indian readers the Hittite language in the setting of the other ancient languages discovered at Boghaz-koï.

The documents from which our meagre knowledge of the ancient languages of Asia Minor is derived are not all of the same age. They may be broadly divided into two groups. (1) Those belonging to the middle of the second millennium B.C. (*circa* 1400-1300) from which is derived our knowledge of Hittite, Luvian, Chattiish, Chattiish (or Churish), Mitanni, Palaish (?) and also of a language of the Indo-Iranian type. Chattiish and Mitanni are dialects of the same language for which the designation Subartean has been suggested. (2) Those belonging to the first millennium B.C. (some also of post-Christian era) composed in Lydian, Carian and Phrygian. There are also documents in hieroglyphic Hittite dating from about 500 B.C. but they are still undeciphered. Etruscan too is considered to have been originally a language of Asia Minor, but no Etruscan or proto-Etruscan document has hitherto been identified among the finds of Boghaz-koï. In the present article only the languages of the first group will be discussed.

The Asia Minor languages of the second millennium B.C. were spoken by groups of people ruled over by the Hittites whose empire was for a time one of the mightiest in the ancient orient. Since the downfall of their empire the Hittites however, completely disappeared from history to reappear only in the twentieth century, thanks to the labours of zealous archaeologists. The name Hittite occurs frequently in the Old Testament, and that the Hittites had founded a powerful empire was also known from Egyptian records of the 15th to the 13th century B.C. But it was thought at first that the Hittite empire was situated in northern Syria. After the discovery of Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions both at the Syrian

centre of the Hittite world and in Asia Minor it began to be suggested that the Hittites must have lived also in Asia Minor, and what was thus thrown out at first as a suggestion turned out ultimately to be the truth when Hugo Winckler announced his epoch-making discoveries made at Boghaz-köi, the site of the capital city *Hattušaš* of the great Chatti empire, of which the chief centre during its blooming period lay in Asia Minor and not in Syria.

The native designation of the country was *Chatti*; English *Hittite*, German *Hethiter*, etc. however are derived not from this *Chatti*, but from Hebrew *Hittim*. The Egyptians used to write the name as *Ht'*—which the Egyptologists formerly vocalized mostly into *Cheta*. From this *Cheta* is derived the form *Chetiler* sometimes used even today by German scholars. From *Chatti*, the name of the country, is derived also the designation *Chattish*, which however is the name of a language different from Hittite.

The chief source of our knowledge of these ancient languages is the great State archive of the Chatti empire containing more than ten thousand cuneiform tablets discovered by Winckler in 1906-7. They are all written in Accadian cuneiform script, but the language of most of them, which appears also in the Arzawa-letters (see below), and which was evidently the native language of the country, was quite unknown in Winckler's time.

After the death of Winckler at first the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft took over the work of publishing these cuneiform texts and brought out the six fascicles of *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghaz-köi* (Leipzig, 1916-23) usually referred to in abbreviation as KBo. In 1922 the Near East section of the State Museums of Berlin took over the publication of the cuneiform texts as *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghaz-köi* (abbr. KUB) and the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft began to publish the texts in transcription under the title *Die Boghaz-köi-texte in Umschrift* (abbr. BoTU) to make them accessible to wider circles. Most of the text-tablets are in the Osmania Museum in Constantinople and the State Museums in Berlin. Some are in the British Museum, and they have been published as *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character*, London, 1920 (abbr. HT).

Soon after the beginning of systematic publication of the Boghaz-köi-texts in Germany it became apparent that not only the expected Hittite language but altogether six different languages are represented in them. The names of and the texts in these languages are contained in the reports of religious sacrifices in the Hittite State archives. In these reports there are many texts of hymns as they were actually chanted at the sacrifices. The hymns were chanted not only in the State language but also in

other languages spoken in the Hittite empire. The texts in these non-Hittite languages are mostly introduced by a formula in Hittite such as: (1) 'The singer sings in Chattish (*ha-at-ti-li*)', (2) 'The singer sings in Charrish (*har-li-li*)', or 'the Charrian singer sings' or 'the singer of Charri sings', (3) 'the singer sings in Luvian (*lu-u-i-li*)'. In many cases, however, only the introductory formula is given, without any text in the language concerned. This is invariably the case with texts in a fourth language, the Palaish. In some fragments it is indeed said, (4) 'the old woman utters the words of sacrificial offerings in Palaish (*pa-la-um-ni-li*)', but no text in this language has yet been discovered. The words *hattili*, *harlili*, *luili* and *palāumnili* are adverbs derived from the country names *Chatti*, *Charri*, *Lūia* and *Palā* known also from other sources. The names of the Chattish, the Charrish, the Luvian and the Palāish language are therefore guaranteed by the texts themselves.

Now, with the name *Hittite*, derived from the country-name *Chatti* (see *supra*), it has become customary to designate the ruling class of the Chatti empire and their language (that this language is Indo-European in character we shall see below), while the name *Chattish* is used to designate the language of the ethnologically and linguistically altogether different autochthonous population of the country living under the rule of the Hittites. The name *Chatti* is therefore used in a double sense: (1) In the narrower ethnographic-linguistic sense to designate the ancient people of Chatti, after whom the country too was named. (2) In a wider sense, as a term of political connotation, designating the whole Chatti empire with its various peoples. Friedrich aptly remarks in this connection that in German the word *Preussen* too is used in a similar double sense, firstly as the designation of the ancient Prussian people (with their Prussian language), and secondly as the designation of the German State of Prussia.

There is no compelling reason why the chief language of the Hittite empire should be called Hittite. The texts use the term *hattili* only to designate the Chattish language; a proper designation of the Indo-European *Hittite* language cannot be found in them. Only in one passage the word *nāšili* (adverb in *-li* as in *hattili*, etc.) is used of this language, but the evidence of this sole passage is hardly sufficient to decide the proper designation of the language concerned. Forrer on the other hand is inclined to call the Indo-European Hittites and their language *Kanisian*, and that too on the evidence of the descriptions of sacrifices mentioned above. In them it is often said 'the singer of the city of Kaniš sings', and the singing thus referred to was done apparently in our Indo-European Hittite language. Hence Forrer argues, just as the singer of Charri

sang in Charrish, so the singer of Kaniš must have sung in Kanisian. But from the texts it is clear that Kaniš was the name only of an important city of the Chatti empire; nowhere it is recorded that it was the native designation of the ruling class and their language. Out of these considerations, and also on account of the fact that the term *Hittite* has now become so current in linguistic literature as the designation of the Indo-European language spoken in the Chatti empire that no other name can now be adopted for it without causing the greatest confusion, the leading Hittitologists such as Sommer and Hrozny have come to the unanimous conclusion that the name *Hittite*, though not quite correct, should be retained in use as the designation of the people and the country concerned until and unless some future find reveals the real name.

Hittite studies had begun long before Winckler's discoveries. Already from the eighties of the last century two cuneiform letters discovered in the Egyptian State archive excavated at El-Amarna were known to the scholarly world. As one of the two letters is addressed to the king of a country called Arzawa, the two letters came to be known as Arzawa-letters, and their language as Arzawa language. Today we know that this language is no other than our Hittite. Knudtzon tried to interpret the language of the Arzawa-letters already in 1902, and together with Bugge and Torp he declared it to be Indo-European in character. The evidence from which Knudtzon drew his daring conclusion was, however, extremely meagre, in fact, as index to the Indo-European character of the Arzawa language he could show hardly anything more than the word *e-eš-tu* of which the meaning 'he should be' was quite uncontestable and the suffixes *-mi* 'my' and *-ti* 'thy'. Knudtzon's suggestion could not therefore carry conviction with the experts in Indo-European philology, nor was his case strengthened by the fanciful etymologization indulged in by Bugge and Torp.

Thorough and scientific investigation of the Hittite language began with the discoveries made at Boghaz-köi. As the documents are in cuneiform characters the Assyriologists were naturally the first to undertake their investigation, and their work was greatly facilitated by the discovery of fragments of lexicons in which Sumero-Accadian words are explained by corresponding Hittite ones. Delitzsch was the first to publish in transcription some of these texts, and he also isolated a few flexional elements of the Hittite language. Weidner, another distinguished Assyriologist, however, declared the language to be neither Indo-European nor Semitic but Caucasian with a mixture of Indo-Iranian elements. Finally Holma, who already knew of Hrozny's Indo-European theory, tried to strengthen it with the help of material culled from

the lexicon fragments. But these fragments unfortunately are not free from mistakes and obscurities, and therefore could not be relied upon for the work of deciphering the Hittite texts.

Scientific Hittitology dates from the publication of Hrozny's epoch-making work *Die Sprache der Hethiter, ihr Bau und ihre Zugehörigkeit zum indogermanischen Sprachstamm* (Boghaz-köi-Studien Heft 1 and 2, 1916-7). In this work Hrozny presented the main features of Hittite nominal and verbal flexion with such convincing lucidity and genial insight that little was left for the other scholars coming after him to do in the field. But Hrozny's etymologies were often puerile and absurd. For Hrozny was primarily an Assyriologist, and as such lacked the necessary training in the strict school of Indo-European linguistics. Moreover Hrozny failed to perceive that the Hittite vocabulary is predominantly non-Indo-European. He therefore committed in many cases the grave error of trying to derive non-Indo-European Hittite words from Indo-European roots. These are the reasons why none of the Indo-Europeanists gave full support to Hrozny at that time excepting Marstrander. But Marstrander was no Assyriologist himself, and his support was in many cases based on wrong premises (see his book *Caractère indo-européen de la langue hittite*, 1919).

It became now apparent that the true character of Hittite can be determined only by a scholar who could speak with equal authority both on Indo-European and Assyrian philology. But no such scholar was there. At last Professor Ferdinand Sommer of Munich, the honoured teacher of the present writer¹ and one of the foremost Indo-Europeanists of Europe, grasped the bull by its horns and for the sake of Hittite became an Assyriologist at an advanced age. After a long period of doubt and deliberation Professor Sommer declared Hittite to be Indo-European in its flexional structure. At the same time he severely criticized Hrozny's dilettantic etymologies. It was again Professor Sommer who laid down the strictly scientific principles of investigating Hittite words and forms. Scouting the procedure adopted naively by superficial scholars who would jump at distant etymologies even before the basic structure of the language concerned has been fully established, Professor Sommer showed that in Hittite absolutely dependable results can be obtained only by concentrating on the

¹ It must not be presumed that as a pupil of Professor Sommer I claim any special knowledge of Hittite. In fact I know next to nothing of Hittite and still less of the other ancient languages of Asia Minor. Professor Sommer does not allow in his Seminar classes on Hittite any student who is not already grounded in Assyriology. But he granted me the privilege of attending his coveted Seminar classes as a passive student.

internal evidence of the available texts. The methodology prescribed by him has since been universally accepted and endorsed by the scholarly world.

In spite of the great progress made in Hittology in course of the last twenty-five years, and though Hittite morphology was fully revealed already by Hrozny, Hittite phonology is even now in a condition far from satisfactory. Yet it is precisely phonology which in Hittite seemed at first to be easiest to deal with. For the texts, written in Accadian syllabary, were easily read by the Assyriologists. But soon it became clear that the Accadian syllabic signs do not and cannot suggest the true sound values of Hittite words. Also the aid derived from comparison with other Indo-European languages proved to be utterly inadequate, for Hittite, the oldest attested Indo-European dialect, turned out to be a degenerate mixed language like modern Albanian! The Accadian syllabary consists of syllabic signs of which the value is either consonant + vowel (*ba*, *ki*) or vowel + consonant (*ab*, *ur*) or consonant + vowel + consonant (*bab*, *kun*). Initial or final double-consonance or medial triconsonance, which are unknown in Accadian but common in Hittite, cannot be clearly expressed by means of these syllabic signs. Moreover of the two Indo-European normal vowels *o* and *e* the first cannot be expressed at all by means of these syllabic signs and the second can be expressed only imperfectly. For these reasons it is not always possible to be sure of the real phonetic value of a Hittite word written in Accadian script, specially as the written form of almost every Hittite word contains one or more unpronounced and unetymological vowels which cannot be easily detected unless several variant forms of the same word occur in the texts. A peculiar practice of the Hittite scribes which greatly facilitated the understanding of the sense of the texts proved moreover to be an insuperable difficulty in the way of fixing the sound-values of some of the most important Hittite words. With the Accadians it was customary to use as *ideogrammes* many Sumerian forms. Now the Hittites too, in imitation of the Accadians, began to use Accadian words—and also the Sumerian words used in Accadian as ideogrammes—as ideogrammes in their own language. These Sumero-Accadian ideogrammes are used so profusely in the written Hittite texts that the general sense of a Hittite sentence can often be easily grasped by a person well grounded in Assyriology even though he may know nothing of the Hittite language. But this advantage is offset by an inescapable result of the irrational practice of using foreign words as ideogrammes: many Hittite words—including some of the commonest ones—are represented in the texts exclusively by these Sumero-Accadian

ideogrammes, so that their native Hittite forms cannot be ascertained by any means.

As the Indo-European character of Hittite is apparent chiefly from its nominal and verbal inflexions it is not necessary for our present purpose—which is just to indicate some salient features of the various ancient languages discovered at Boghaz-köi—to go into the details of Hittite phonology. A few Hittite words, however, are being cited, along with recognized cognates in other Indo-European languages, to suggest the relation in which Hittite stands to the original Indo-European and its daughter dialects¹:—

ed- 'to eat', *adanna* 'food'—Skt. *ad-*, *adana*, Gk. *édomai*, Lat. *edere*, etc.

eš- 'to be'—Skt. *as-*, Gr. *estí*, Lat. *esse*, etc.

eš- 'to sit down'—Skt. *ās-*, Gr. *hēstai*, etc.

ešhar 'blood'—Gr. *éar* < **esg*, Skt. *asṣj-*.

taṣ-, *te-*, *ti-* 'to set'—Skt. *dhā-*, Gr. *tithēmi*, etc.

mekki 'much'—Skt. *magh-* *mah-*, Gr. *mégas*, Lat. *magis*, etc.

nebiš 'sky'—Skt. *nabhas*, Gr. *néphos*, etc.

luk(k)- 'to light up'—Skt. *ruc-*, Lat. *lux*, etc.

uatur 'water'—Engl. *water*, Gr. *húdōr*, etc.

ueš- 'to clothe'—Skt. *vas-*, Lat. *ves-tis*, etc.

uck-, 'to demand'—Skt. *vaś-*, Gr. *hekón*, etc.

paḥhur 'fire'—Gr. *pūr*, Engl. *fire*, etc.

kuen- 'to kill'—Skt. *han-*, Gr. *theinō*, etc.

genu 'knee'—Skt. *jānu*, Lat. *genu*, etc.

barkuš 'high'—Skt. *bṛhant-*.

aššuš 'good'—Gr. *cús* < **esús*.

dulugašti 'length'—Slav. *dlŭgostŭ* (cf. Skt. *dīrgha*).

As for nominal flexion, let us take as example of a vowel stem the *i*-stem *šallaiš*, *šalliš* 'large':—

Sing. Masc.-Fem. Nom. *šallaiš*, *šalliš*, cf. Skt. *śúcis*.

Masc.-Fem. Acc. *šallin*, cf. Skt. *śúcim*, Gr. *pólin*.

Neut. Nom.-Acc. *šalli*, cf. Skt. *śúci*.

Gen. **šalliiaš*, cf. Skt. *yuvatyās*, Gr. *pólios*.

Dat.-Loc. *šallai*, **šalli*, cf. Skt. *bhṛtyái* (for the usual *bhṛtáye*), Gr. *pólei*, *póli*.

Abl. *šallaijaz*, **šalliiaz*, cf. Skt. *aryás* and *ávyas* of flexion *forte*.

Instr. **šallit*.

Plur. Nom. Masc.-Fem. *šallaēš*, **šallēš*, cf. Skt. *śúcayas*, Lat. *civēs* < **keiueies*.

¹ The phonetic value of Hit. *š* is *s*; that of Hit. *z* is *ts*

Acc. Masc.-Fem. *šalliuš* (like Lat. *filios*?).

Gen. **šallaijaš*, **šalliijaš*.

Dat.-Loc. **šallaijaš*, **šalliijaš*.

As example of a consonant stem let us take the *nt*-stem *hūmant*- 'whole' —

Sing. Nom. M.-F. *hūmanza* (inaccurate writing for **hūmants*), cf.

Lat. *ferens*.

Acc. M.-F. *hūmandan*, cf. Lat. *ferentem*.

Nom.-Acc. Neut. *hūman*, cf. Gr. *phéron*

Gen. *hūmandaš*, cf. Gr. *phérontos*.

Dat.-Loc. *hūmanti*, cf. Gr. *phéronti*

Abl. *humandaz*.

Plur. Nom. M.-F. *humantes*, cf. Skt *bhārantas*, Gr. *phérontes*

Acc. M.-F. *humanduš*.

Nom.-Acc. Neut. *hūmanda*, cf. Gr. *phéronta*

Gen. *hūmandāš*

Dat.-Loc. *hūmandaš*

Heteroclitic *r/n*-stems (e.g. Skt *áhar áhan*, *údhar. údhan*) are justly regarded as one of the distinguishing features of the original Indo-European. Very few such *r/n*-stems, however, are preserved in the Indo-European dialects other than Hittite, for the primitive method of stem-variation was gradually given up in them in favour of exclusively flexional systems. But in Hittite, as we know it from the Boghaz-köi texts, these *r/n* stems are still in full bloom. As example let us take *uatar* 'water' —

Sing. Nom.-Acc. *uatar*, cf. Skt. *ūdhar*

Gen. *uetenāš*, cf. Skt. *ūdhnas*

Dat.-Loc. *ueteni*, cf. Skt *ūdhn*

Abl. *uetenaz*.

Instr. *uetenit*

Hittite pronominal flexion is not so transparently Indo-European as Hittite nominal flexion. Let us take as example *kuiš* = Lat. *quis*:—

Sing. Nom. M.-F. *kuiš*

Acc. M.-F. *kuih*

Nom.-Acc. Neut. *kuit*.

Gen. *kuēl*.

Dat.-Loc. *kuēdan*.

Abl. *kuēz*.

Plur. Nom. M.-F. *kuēš*.

Acc. M.-F. *kuēuš*.

Nom.-Acc. Neut. *kuē*.

Gen. *kuēdaš*.

Dat.-Loc. *kuēdāš*.

Hittite verbal flexion too is clearly of Indo-European origin, but the whole verbal system is attenuated to a degree that cannot but be surprising in so old a language. We get on the whole only an

Indicative of the Present, an Indicative of the Preterite, an Imperative, a Participle, and an Infinitive. As an example let us take *ešuyar* 'to be':—

Indicative Present.		Indicative Preterite.	
Sing.	1. <i>ešmi</i> , cf. Skt. <i>ásmi</i> .	Sing.	1. <i>ešun</i> .
	2. —		2. <i>ešta</i> (= <i>ešt</i>).
	3. <i>ešzi</i> , cf. Skt. <i>ásti</i> .		3. <i>ešla</i> (= <i>ešt</i>).
Plur.	1. <i>ešnemi</i> .	Plur.	1. <i>ešuen</i>
	2. <i>ešteri</i> .		2. <i>ešten</i> .
	3. <i>ašanzi</i> , cf. Skt. <i>sánti</i> .		3. <i>ešir</i> .

Imperative

Sing.	2. <i>eš</i> .
	3. <i>ešdu</i> , cf. Skt. <i>ástu</i>
Plur.	2. <i>ešten</i> .
	3. <i>ašandu</i> , cf. Skt. <i>sántu</i> .

Participle *ašanza* (= *asants*, cf. Skt. *sant-*), Infinitive *ešuyanzi*. Hittite medio-passive endings are bewildering (see Sturtevant, §418); this much however is clear that in the 3. Sing. Hittite has a medio-passive with *r*, but without *t*, like Umbrian *ferar* (but Lat. *feratur*). Thus from *kiš-* 'to become' we have for the 3. Sing. Pres. in the Indicative *kišari* (and without *r* *kiša*, 3. Plur. *kišantari*) and in the Imperative *kišaru*. These *r*-endings are taken by some scholars to prove the special affinity of Hittite with Tocharian and Italo-Celtic. Yet, like the heteroclitic *r/n*-stems, these verbal *r*-endings too should rather be regarded as inherited relics of an irrational and outmoded verbal flexion.

We shall now discuss the other languages of Boghaz-köi of which our knowledge is extremely meagre and will perhaps always remain so, for it is hardly to be expected that further excavations will yield many documents written in the dialects spoken by the subject peoples of the Hittite empire. Luvian is the language of the country called Lu(w)ia in the texts. Only a few texts in this language have been discovered, and most of these few are moreover fragmentary. But even these few fragmentary texts are sufficient to prove that Luvian was closely related to Hittite. Compare, for instance, the following Hittite text with its Luvian parallel (both quoted by Friedrich):—

Hit. ¹⁴*In-na-ra-u-ya-an-ta-aš . . . e-eš-ḫa-nu-ya-an-ta ku-e-eš u-e-eš-ša-an-ta* AN^{mes} *Lu-u-la-ḫi-ia-aš-ša-an ḫu-up-ru-uš ku-i-e-eš iš-ḫi-ia-an-ti-iš* 'the Innaraḫantaš-gods who

wear (*ueššanta*) the *ašhanuanta* (meaning uncertain) and the *Lulahi*-gods who have put on the *hupruš*'.

Luv. ¹⁴*An-na-ru-um-mi-en-zi aš-ha-nu-ua-an-ta ku-in-zi ua-aš-ša-an-ta-ri* ¹⁵*Lu-u-la-ḫi-in-za-aš-tar hu-u-ḫi-pa-ra-za ku-in-zi ḫi-iš-ḫi-ja-an-ti-iš*.

The Luvian medial form *uaššantari* 'they cover themselves with clothes' has here been rendered in the Hittite text by *ueššanta*. Luvian *ḫiṣḫiantliš* differs from Hit. *iṣḫiantliš* only by its initial aspiration. Moreover of the Hittite relative *kunš* at least the stem appears also in Luvian, only the ending *-inzi* is different. This typically Luvian ending is in evidence also in the Nom. Pl. ¹⁶*An-na-ru-um-mi-en-zi*. There are also other Luvian words and forms which might as well have been Hittite. At the same time there is much in Luvian to which nothing can be found in Hittite to correspond. On the whole Luvian too seems to have been an Indo-European dialect in origin, but its original character changed almost beyond recognition already in the 15th century B.C. It departs from the original Indo-European much more radically than Hittite. For these reasons Forrer was inclined to think that the Luvians were the earliest Indo-Europeans to set foot on the soil of Asia Minor, perhaps a thousand years before the Hittites.

Chattish (or Proto-Hattish according to Forrer) is the language of the native population of the Hittite empire residing in the central region of Asia Minor. The texts call this language *hattili*, and pieces in the Chattish language appear in more than fifty passages, some of them moreover being furnished with parallel Hittite translations. There was thus from the beginning a fair chance of the mystery of this language being solved. Yet, the peculiar character of this language with its bewildering variety of forms has hitherto foiled all attempts to fully decipher it. This much, however, can be said today with confidence that Chattish is fundamentally different from all the other languages of Boghaz-köi. It cannot as yet be connected with any of the known speech-families of the world. That it was no Indo-European dialect is quite clear, for its flexional elements are prefixes and not suffixes. The plural-prefix is *le-*, thus *binu* 'child', Plur. *le-binu*. Nouns take the prefixes *a-*, *i-*, *ua-* which seem to have functioned as articles; thus *šaḫ* 'bad', *a-šaḫ*, *i-šaḫ*, *ua-šaḫ* 'the bad one', Plur. *le-a-šaḫ*. Similar prefixing is in evidence also in verbal forms; cf. from *-kun* 'to notice' *uaḫ-kun* 'he noticed him', from *-nuua* 'to come' *taš-te-nuua* 'he should not come' (*taš-* negation, *te* optative-particle).

Charrish or Churrish is the third Boghaz-köi language of which the linguisticians claim to possess some positive knowledge today.

The designation of this language remains, however, uncertain, for the first syllabic sign of *Har-ri* can be read both *har* and *hur*. The name of the people speaking this language was formerly taken to be *Charri*, and the term *Charri* was even supposed to be somehow connected with the designation of the *Aryans*; Ungnad, however, prefers the reading *Churri* and connects the term with the Hurrites of pre-Israelite Canaan. The *Charri* or *Churri* State of which Charrish (or Churrish) was the native language was situated probably in the Armenian mountains. In twelve passages the pieces in these languages are called *ha/ur-li-h*, and texts in this language are not altogether rare; but no bilingual text with Charrish as one of its two languages has yet been discovered. Yet it is possible to form a fair idea of this language, for it is only dialectally different from the Mitanni language (of northern Mesopotamia) known from the eighties of the last century from a sole but pretty lengthy document of the same age as the Boghaz-köi texts discovered in the Egyptian State archive excavated at El-Amarna. The affinity between Charrish and Mitanni, perceived already by Hrozný, has been demonstrated by Ungnad who interpreted a Charrish fragment of the Gilgamesh epic mainly on the strength of his knowledge of the Mitanni language. Ungnad also suggested the common designation 'Subaraean' for the two languages Charrish and Mitanni on the assumption that both should be connected ultimately with the country of Subartu (north-west of Babylonia) of which the kingdom of Mitanni was only a part.

The following examples will be sufficient to prove the close affinity between Charrish and Mitanni: The Nom. Sing. in Mitanni ends with *-š* or *-l* as in Charrish; in both the Acc. Sing. ends in *-n*; Plural in *-na*. Some words have the same meaning in both languages; thus *atta* 'father', *šen* 'brother', *umini* 'country', *eyri* 'master', *tiyina* 'words'. As for the verbal system, compare the endings in Mit. *tatia* 'he loves' and Char. *katia* 'he communicates', Mit. *tanau* 'I do' and Char. *katiu* 'I communicate', Mit. *gul-uša* 'I have spoken' and Char. *nahhuša*. In both the languages the ending of a word is repeated in all the following words syntactically connected (attribute, etc.) with it. This peculiarity is considered by Bork to be characteristic of the Caucasian languages, and therefore he considers Mitanni to be a language of the Caucasian family. Be that as it may, this is however certain that Subaraean is neither Indo-European nor related to Chattish.

Palāish is the language of the country of Palā, about the situation of which there is no unanimity among the scholars (according to Forrer *Palā* = Paphlagonia; according to Götze *Palā* was situated to the south-east of Hattušaš = Boghaz-köi). In five

passages of the descriptions of sacrifices it is said that certain formulas are recited *palāumnīli*, but in no case have the words of the Palāish formulas been given.

Lastly, we have to discuss the Indo-Iranian speech element in the languages of the Hittite empire. Already from the Amarna letters it was known that princes with Indo-European names of the Indo-Iranian type were the rulers of what is now Syria in the 15th century B.C. Some of these names may well pass as Sanskrit names, e.g. *Šuwardāta* (= Skt. *svardatta*), *Artamanju* (= Skt. *ṛtamanju*), *Subandu* (= Skt. *subandhu*), etc. Similar Sanskritic names were borne also by princes of the kingdoms of Mitanni and Charri, e.g. *Artatama* (= Skt. *ṛtatama*), *Artasuyara* (= Skt. *ṛtasvar-*). Moreover the fighter caste in the Syrian principalities had a distinctly Sanskritic designation, viz. *mariannu* (cf. Skt. *marya*). It was therefore assumed that in these regions the native non-Indo-European population was ruled by an Indian or Indo-Iranian nobility. Now Boghaz-köi excavations have yielded further speech material of the same Indo-Iranian stamp. As is well known, in a document recording a peace-treaty between the Hittites and the Mitanni which has been discovered at Boghaz-köi are found mentioned among other gods also the Indian gods *Mitra*, *Varuna*, *Indra* and the *Nāsatyas*. And further, in a manual of chariot-racing composed in Hittite by Kikkuli of Mitanni, also discovered at Boghaz-köi, there are used some technical terms which must have been borrowed from an Indo-Iranian (or a proto-Indo-Iranian) dialect, viz. *aika-uartanna* 'single round', *tera-uartanna* 'three-fold round', *panza-varitanna* 'five-fold round', *nā-uartanna* (evidently haplogy for **naya-uartanna*) 'nine-fold round'. It will be noticed at once that these numerals are more specifically Indian than Indo-Iranian in form.¹ Thus *aika-* exactly corresponds to Skt. *ēka-* but not to Avestan *aēva-* or Old Persian *aiva-*; the form *satta-* is identical with MIA. *satta-* but greatly differs from Iranian *hapta-*. This fact decidedly goes against the popular theory that the ruling class of Mitanni, from whom, presumably, the Mitanni people had learnt these numerals, were proto-Indo-Iranians, i.e. the undivided people which later, in course of further eastward progress, split up into the different peoples, Iranian and Indian; for in that case the numerals in question must have been more Iranian than Indian in form and not *vice versa*. Eduard Meyer (*Geschichte des Alter-*

¹ This, however, cannot be said, in spite of appearances, of the four names of gods. For in their case there is nothing to show that the three Iranian forms concerned (*Varuna* going by default) could not have been directly derived from the corresponding Boghaz-köi forms like their Indian counterparts.

tums II, 1, 1928, zweite Auflage, pp. 34-36) has moreover argued on historical grounds that if the Indo-Iranians of Mitanni were but a pocket left behind by the Aryans on their eastward march, then similar pockets should have been discovered also in the Armenian region which they would have had to traverse. But among the numerous personal and place names known from Armenia till up to the end of the Assyrian age nothing Indo-European has yet been discovered, and even the frontier hills of Media are found to have been peopled by non-Aryan tribes. It is clear that the Aryanism of this region was due purely to the westward expansion of the Medes from the east. On the other hand the *beginning* of Vedic culture can on no account be set down later than 1500 B.C.—wherefore the Aryan occupation of the Punjab must have taken place centuries earlier. Out of these considerations Eduard Meyer came to the conclusion that the Aryans of Mitanni, i.e. the Mar-yanni, should rather be regarded as conquering immigrants to the west from India. Friedrich also admits the possibility of a westward back-migration of the Vedic Aryans (Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Vol. I, 1924, p. 137): Doch könnte sich auch von dem bereits weiter ö. wohnenden Hauptteile des Volkes ein Splitter nach W abgezweigt haben.—It may be mentioned in passing that in the opinion of Professor Keith 'we attain no result of value for Vedic chronology' (*The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 111) from the mention of Vedic gods in the document of treaty between the Hittites and the Mitanni; but Keith's 'excessive' scepticism has been castigated by Hall (*Bronze Age Greece*, p. 85, f.n. 1), even though Hall does not accept Meyer's theory of the westward migration of the Vedic Indians.

So far as the Hittite empire is concerned, it is quite certain that about the middle of the second millennium B.C. both in north Syria and in Asia Minor there were people speaking an Aryan tongue. They must have formed an influential community, for otherwise their gods would not have been invoked in a State-document recording a peace-treaty. They must have been popular also, for why else should the Hittites have wanted to learn from them the art of chariot-racing? That the Hittites learnt from them chariot-racing and not horse-riding is also significant: the Vedic Aryans, as is well known, used to ride in chariots drawn by horse, but did not ride on horseback. All this goes to support rather Meyer's theory than Keith's or Hall's.

Lastly let us mention that Forrer also at first took the Aryans of the Hittite empire to be *Urinder* (i.e. primitive Indians), plain and simple (SB. Preuss. AK. 1919, p. 1035), though later he proposed to call them '*Manda*' (ZDMG. NF. I, pp. 247ff.) on the ground that

'*Manda*' as a people's name occurs already in the Boghaz-köi texts, and that in the Assyrian age this was the designation of the Aryans (cf. also Old Persian *Māda*, Gr. *Mēdoi*). But the designation '*Manda*' for the Aryans of the Hittite empire is quite uncertain. And to call their dialect *Mandaean*, as Forrer does, would be doubly misleading, for '*Manda*' is also the designation of an Aramaic dialect of south Babylonia in the post-Christian era.

THE CHIEF POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF INDIA DURING THE EIGHTH CENTURY

By H. L. JAIN

The history of northern India during the three or four centuries immediately following the period of the great emperor Harsha is very obscure, and whatever light is shed by any literary or epigraphical records is most welcome. One such important ray of light is furnished to us by the Jaina writer Jinasena who in his Hari-vamśa purāṇa says that he finished the work at Vardhamānapura in the Śaka year 705. He also makes mention of the contemporary kings and locates their spheres of influence and power. The verses run as follows:—

शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरा
पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णान्दपजे श्रीवक्त्रभे दक्षिणाम् ।
पूर्वा श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादिराजेऽपरां
सौराणामधिमण्डलं जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥ ५२ ॥
कल्याणैः परिवर्धमानविपुलश्रीवर्धमाने पुरे
श्रीपार्श्वालयनम्वराजवसतौ पर्याप्तशेषः पुरा ।
पश्चाद्दोस्तटिकाप्रजाप्रजनितप्राज्यार्चनावर्चने
श्रान्तेः श्रान्तगृहे जिनस्य रचितो वंशो ह्यरौणामयम् ॥ ५३ ॥ (सर्ग ६६)

The value of these mentions has long been recognized and historians like Vincent Smith, R. G. Bhandarkar, C. V. Vaidya, H. C. Ojha and A. S. Altekar have utilized them in their works. But none has cared to discuss the boundaries of the kingdoms as suggested by the poet nor tried to locate the town where he wrote and which formed the dividing centre of the kingdoms mentioned by him. They have generally gone on the presumption that Jinasena had merely mentioned the leading kingdoms of the four directions of northern India without any specific idea of the dividing line. This presumption has sometimes led to confusion as, for example, in the case of C. V. Vaidya who, while trying to explain the mention of the king of Avanti ruling in the east, says: 'It seems the word Avanti Bhūpati has been wrongly translated as king of Avanti, for Avanti or Malwa cannot be in the east. The proper translation should be King Avanti, Avanti being the name of a king.' (Mediaeval Hindu

India, Vol. II, pp. 101-102; Poona, 1924.) But he has not tried to identify this King Avanti who controlled the entire east, obviously because there was no such king known to history.

An attempt at the identification of the central place mentioned by Jinasena with reference to the political divisions of India has been made recently by Dr. A. N. Upadhye in the introduction to his edition of Harisena's *Bṛihat-kathā-kosha* (*Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana*, Bombay, 1943) and by Pandit Nathuram Premi in the chapter on *आचार्य जिनसेन और उनका हरिवंश* in his *जैन साहित्य और इतिहास* (Bombay, 1942). Their conclusion is that Vardhamānapura where Jinasena wrote the *Harivaṃśa* purāṇa was identical with Wadhwan in Kathiawar because 'Jinasena wrote his *Harivaṃśa* at Vardhamānapura when Indrāyudha was ruling in the north; Śrī Vallabha, the son of Kṛishṇa urpa in the south, Vatsarāja, the king of Avanti in the east; and in the west, Vīra Jaya Varāha over the Sauramaṇḍala. Harisena, just 148 years later, associates one Vinayādikapāla with Vardhamānapura. These conditions are not fulfilled, so far as the available material is concerned, by locating that town in Bengal or Deccan but by accepting its identity with Wadhwan with reference to which the directions are to be understood, all the facts can be satisfactorily explained. Indrāyudha is identified with Indrarāja of Kanauj whose territory appears to have extended sufficiently westward; Śrī Vallabha with Govinda II, the son of Kṛṣṇa I of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty in the south; Vatsarāja, the king of Avanti, with the Gurjar Pratihāra ruler of that name, and Vīra Jaya Varāha might have been some king ruling over Sauramaṇḍala or Saurāstra about whom we do not know anything from other sources. These directions and ruling kings are suitable only for Wadhwan'. (*Bṛihat-kathā-kosha*, Intro., p. 121.)

Pandit Nathuram Premi has discussed the position of the four kings and their kingdoms somewhat more fully and subscribes to the same view. With regard to the position of इन्द्रायुध and वत्सराज and their kingdoms, the remarks of Pandit Premi are as follows:—

“श्वेताम्बराचार्य उद्योतन मुरि ने अपनी ‘कुवलयमाला’ नामक प्राकृत कथा जावालिपुर या जालोर (मारवाड़) में जब श० सं० ७०० के समाप्त होने में एक दिन बाकी था तब समाप्त की थी, और उस समय वत्सराज का राज्य था। अर्थात् हरिवंश की रचना के समय (श० ७०५ में) तो (उत्तर में) मारवाड़ इन्द्रायुध के अधिकार में था और (पूर्व में) मालवा वत्सराज के अधिकार में। परन्तु इसके पाँच वर्ष पहले (श० ७०० में) कुवलयमाला की रचना के समय मारवाड़ का अधिकारी भी वत्सराज था। इससे अनुमान होता है कि

पहले मारवाड़ और मालवा दोनों ही इन्द्रायुध के अधिकार में थे और वत्सराज ने दोनों ही प्रान्त उसीसे जीते थे—पहले, श० ७०० में पहले मारवाड़ और फिर श० ७०५ से पहले मालवा। इसके बाद ७०७ में ध्रुवराज ने मालवराज की सहायता के लिये चढ़ाई करके वत्सराज को मारवाड़ की अर्थात् जालोर की ओर खदेड़ दिया होगा, और मालवे का पुराना राजा यह इन्द्रायुध ही होगा जिसकी सहायता ध्रुव ने की थी। यह निश्चित है कि कन्नौज का साम्राज्य जो बज्रत विस्तृत था और जिसमें मारवाड़ और मालवा भी शामिल थे, इसी वत्सराज के पुत्र नागभट्ट ने इसी इन्द्रायुध के पुत्र चक्रायुध से छीना था और इस प्रवृत्ति का प्रारंभ वत्सराज के समय से ही हो गया था। पहले ध्रुवराज ने इसमें बाधा डाली, परन्तु पीछे उक्त साम्राज्य प्रतौहारों के ही हाथ में चला गया। इन सब बातों से हरिवंश की रचना के समय उत्तर में इन्द्रायुध और पूर्व में वत्सराज का राज्य होना ठीक मालूम होता है (जिन साहित्य और इतिहास पृ० ४२६-७)

The remarks of both these scholars need scrutiny. The first point for consideration is whether Indrāyudha's kingdom extended sufficiently to the west so as to fall to the north of Wadhwan in Śāka 705. Looking at the map, we find that Wadhwan is situated well within Saurāṣṭra or Kathiawar. To the north of it are the territories of Marwar and there is absolutely no evidence available to prove that Indrāyudha ever ruled over those parts. On the contrary, Pandit Premī draws our attention to a mention by Udyotana Sūri in his Kuvalaya-mālā, according to which Vatsarāja was ruling over Marwar in Śāka 700. To overcome this difficulty in the fulfilment of the conditions for the identification of Vardhamānapur with Wadhwan, he conjectures that the kingdom may have changed hands about the time of Jināsena. There is some confusion in the argument, as a result of which a case is made out for the contrary of what is desired to be established, and no argument remains in favour of Indrāyudha being regarded as the ruler to the north of Wadhwan. We learn from contemporary history that the kingdom of Kanauj was hard pressed at this time from the north-west by the rulers of Kashmir and from the east by the rulers of Gauda or Bengal. The Kanauj ruler was thus finding it difficult to maintain his dominions and was not at all in a position to undertake any new conquests. On the contrary, the kingdom of Marwar, founded by Nāgabhaṭṭa or Nāgāvaloka the great-grandfather of Vatsarāja himself at Bhinmal, was constantly expanding at the expense of the Kanauj and other neighbouring kingdoms. Nāgāvaloka's supremacy extended to the south, at least up to Broach, as is clearly shown by a copperplate inscription from Hansot in Anklēśvara Taluka, dated V.S. 813,

Śaka 678 (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 202-3). Nāgabhaṭṭa also had a trial of strength against Balach Mlechhas whose forces he shattered. (Gwalior Praśasti, *Arch. Survey of India*, 1903-4, p. 280.) Thus Vatsarāja's great-grandfather was supreme from Bhinmal to Broach in Śaka 678 and there is no evidence to show that the fortunes of the kingdom had in any way shrunk by the time of Vatsarāja. There is thus no evidence whatsoever to prove that Indrāyudha's kingdom extended sufficiently to the west so as to make him supreme in the north of Wadhwan in Śaka 705. On the contrary, there is the kingdom of Vatsarāja both to the north as well as to the east of Wadhwan.

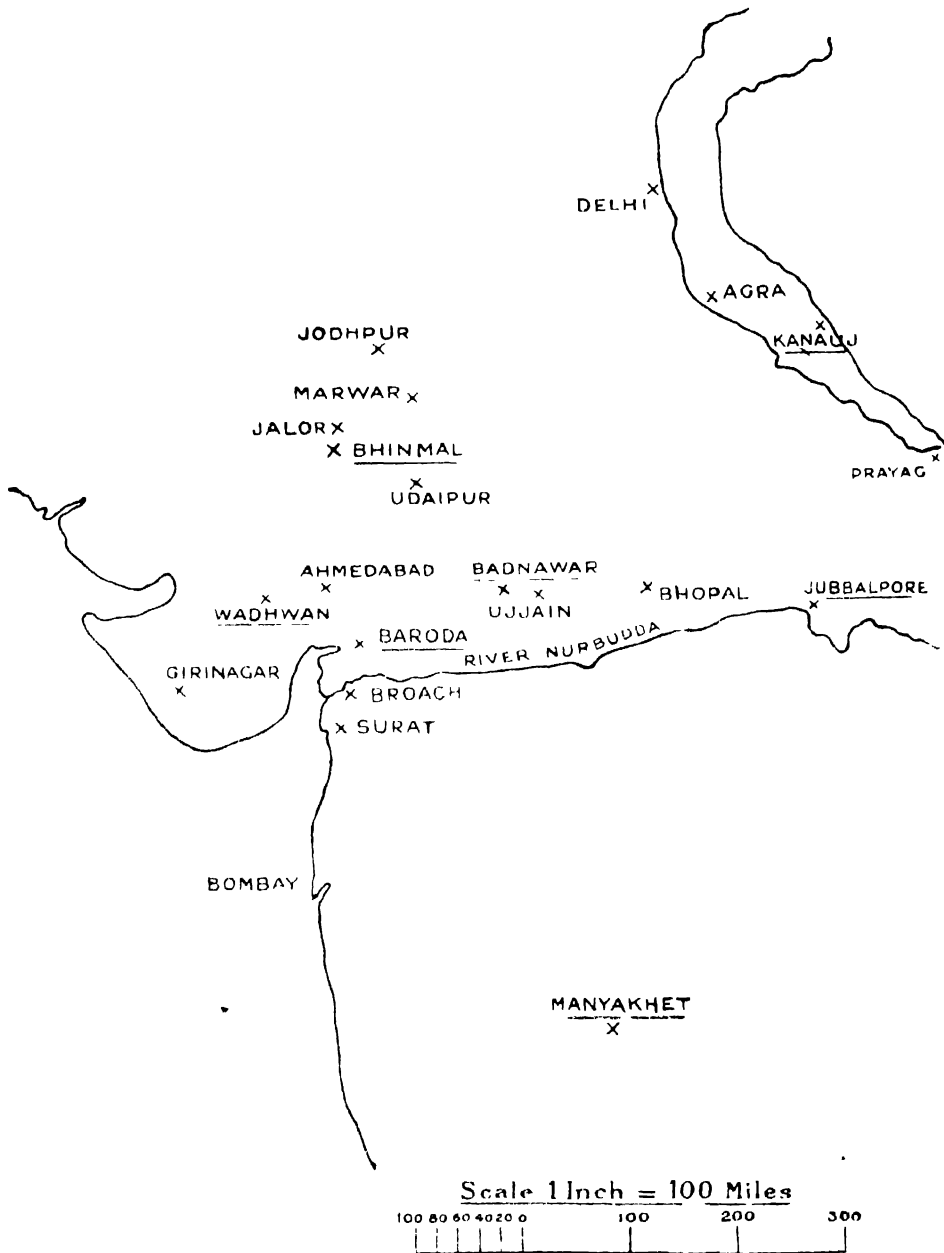
The next important question to be considered is whether Jinasena's statement can be interpreted to mean that Vatsarāja was the king of Avanti ruling in the east of Vardhamānapur and Vira Jaya Varāha ruling to its west over Saurāṣṭra in Śaka 705. In this there is a two-fold difficulty—of syntax as well as of fact. The two pertinent lines of Jinasena's verse are—

पूर्वा श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादिराजेऽपरां

सौराणामधिमंडलं जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥

Now, if Vatsarāja is to be qualified by the adjective Avanti *Bhūbhṛti* where is the word नृपे to be construed? If that also qualifies Vatsarāja, the verse becomes open to the fault of the worst kind of tautology, which can only be avoided by taking अवन्तिभूभृत् as one person and वत्साराज नृप as quite another. The fact of history also bears this out. Although Dodwell (*Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 131) and Altekar (*The Rashtrakutas and their times*, p. 55, f.n. 21) presume Vatsarāja to be the ruler of Avanti, there is clear evidence to the contrary. We have already seen from the Kuvalaya-mālā of Udyotana Sūri that Vatsarāja ruled in Marwar in Śaka 700. Then the Baroda copperplate inscription of Karkarāja, dated Śaka 734 (*Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 160), bears clear testimony to the fact that the Gurjar Lord made a severe attack on the Malwa king who was saved from ruin by the help of Karkarāja. The Radhanpur and Dindori inscriptions of Govindrāja III, both of Śaka 730 (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 243 and XI, p. 157), make it clear that this Gurjar Lord was no other than Vatsarāja himself. These records also claim for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruvarāja the credit of having thrown Vatsarāja back into Marwar after depriving him of the trophies which he had snatched from the Gauda king. This evidence of these contemporary records is quite sufficient to prove that the king of Malwa who alone could be called Avanti Bhūbhṛit was quite a different person and his territories were invaded by Vatsa-

rāja. But the Rāṣṭrakūṭas came to the help of the Malwa king and Vatsarāja had to fall back into Marwar. That Malwa could



not be annexed to his kingdom by Vatsarāja is further borne out by the fact that his son Nāgabhaṭṭa II after wresting the imperial

power from Chakrāyudha, had to capture the fortresses in Malwa (Gwalior Ins., *Arch. Survey of India*, 1903-4, p. 281, verses 8-11). Thus the Avanti king was altogether different from Vatsarāja and the former's dominions did not extend up to the borders of Sauramaṇḍala or Saurāstra. Bhandarkar, Ojha and Vaidya have all taken the two as separate and Vatsarāja is taken to rule over the west. The contemporary king of Avanti was probably called Candragupta who is mentioned in the Sanjana Plates of Amoghavarsha I (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 235ff.) and who has been conjectured to be the ruler of Central India (see V. V. Mirashi's 'Date of Tivaradeva' in *Jha Commemoration Volume*, p. 232, Poona, 1937).

With regard to the western kingdom mentioned by Jinasena, the word अयरा (दिश) according to the interpretation of Dr. Upadhye and Pandit Premi has to be taken in apposition to सौराष्ट्रमधिर्मंडलं which is grammatically not very happy, and factually not quite accurate. The Haddala copperplates of Dharanī Varāha, dated Śaka 836, are issued from Vardhamāna (Wadhwan) which was obviously their capital. We can safely presume that Vira Jaya Varāha mentioned by Jinasena was Dharanī Varāha's ancestor three or four generations earlier and he also probably had his capital at Wadhwan which was thus situated well within the Sauramaṇḍala as the kingdom was called. In that case, would a writer like Jinasena writing at Wadhwan say that Sauramaṇḍala was situated to its west and Avanti king ruled just in the east?

The above discussion reveals that the political divisions as they existed about Śaka 705 were as follows: -

Indrāyudha ruled in the north from Kauauj up to the borders of Malwa. South of Malwa stretched forth the kingdom of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Malwa itself was ruled by a king at Avanti, and immediately to the west of it there extended the kingdom of Vatsarāja covering the whole of Marwar and Gujarat, while Kathiawar was ruled by another king probably named Vira Jaya Varāha.

As shown above, Wadhwan situated in Kathiawar does not suit as the centre of these political divisions. It therefore becomes necessary to seek a fresh identification which would fit in with the established facts of history.

Obviously it would only be some place in Central India to the west of Avanti and east of Gujarat that would meet the requirements of the situation. Looking for such a place, I find one Badnawar in the Dhāra State, being situated about 40 miles to the south-west of Ujjain. It suits excellently the political boundaries given by Jinasena. The Kanauj kingdom of Indrāyudha would fall exactly to its north and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom, which is known to have

touched the borders of Dhāra, would lie exactly to its south. The Avanti kingdom is to its east and Vatsarāja's dominions to its west, being in their turn contiguous with Sauramaṇḍala or Saurāstra. There is also no difficulty in recognizing the old name Vardhamānapura in the modern name Badnāwār. War is very well known as a modern form of the old *pura*, as we find in names like Peshawar (Purushapura), Narwar (Nalapura) and Chandwar (Chandrapura). The corruption of Vardhamān into *Badna* is also intelligible. *Ba* easily replaces *Va*, the conjunct *idha* gives place to simplified cerebral *da* or dental *da* and *ma* may easily be lost due to the proximity of another nasal letter *na* which, however, inherits its long vowel *ā*. Thus Vardhamānapur gives us the modern *Badnawar*.

Having arrived at this conclusion I made inquiries from Badnāwār without in the least giving out my identification. In response to it Mr. Nandlal Loḍhā of Badnāwār kindly wrote to me as follows:

बदनावर का प्राचीन नाम वर्द्धनापुर था जिसकी साक्षी कुछ मूर्तियों के लेखों से मिलती है। इसी का अपभ्रंश बुधनावर हुआ जो कि अभी भी कितनेक पत्रों से पता चलता है और अब बदनावर के वर्तमान नाम में लागू है। यहां पर प्राचीन किला (गढ) है जो अभी टूटी फूटी हालत में खड़ा है। गांव के किनारे बलवन्ती नदी बहती है। उत्तर की तरफ नदी के पार खेड़ा नामक ग्राम है जहां पर प्राचीन मूर्तियां मिलती हैं। यहां पर प्राचीन जैन प्रतिमा, चरणचौकी परिकर आदि भग्नावस्था में कितनी ही जगह में मंग्रह किये हैं और कितनी ही अन्य स्थानों पर रखी ऊई हैं। प्राप्त किये हुए लेखों में से आवश्यकीय लेख उतारकर भेज रहा हूं। उनमें वर्द्धमानपुर भी नाम आया है। यह नाम क्यों आया यह मेरे ख्याल से बाहर है।

लेख १

संवत् ११२२ माघ सुदी ६.....हरा दिनेश्व अद्येह वर्द्धनपुरे श्री सीमापुरवास्तव्य प्रनसलन देव.....सेवा प्रणमति नित्यं।

यह लेख श्याम पाषाण की एक पुरुष स्त्री की मूर्ति की पाटली पर है। यह गांव के पश्चिम बाजू नागेश्वर नामक स्थान पर रखी ऊई है।

लेख २

सं० १२१६ ज्येष्ठ सुदि ५ बुधे व्या. कुमारसेन चन्द्रकीर्ति वर्द्धमानपुरान्वये साधु बोद्धिब्र सुत माण्डा भार्या पाणू सुत पौष्ठा भार्या पाऊणो प्रणमति नित्यं।

उक्त लेख श्याम पाषाण की चरगा चौकी पर लिखा हुआ है और जैन मन्दिर के पास संग्रहीत है।

लेख ३

संवत् १२२६ वैशाख वदि ७ शुक्ले अष्टम्ये वड्डनापुरे श्री प्रातिगायत्र्यै सा० भलग सा० गोश्ल ठ. वल्लदेव ठ. कणदेवादि कुटुंबसहितेन निजगोत्र देव्याः श्री अंकुसायाः (अंबिकायाः ?) प्रतिष्ठातिः कारिता श्री कुलचन्द्रोपाध्यायैः प्रतिष्ठिता ।

यह लेख श्याम पाषाण की एक देवीमूर्ति की पाटली पर है और देवी के सिर पर अरहत की मूर्ति है। यह गांव के पूर्व बैजनाथ मंदिर में रखी हुई है।

लेख ४

संवत् १२३४ वर्षे माघ सुदी ५ बुधे श्रीमान् माधुर्य संघे पंडिताचार्य-धर्मकीर्ति-शिष्य-ललितकीर्तिः । बड्डमानपुरान्वये सा० प्रामदेव भार्या प्राहिणी सुत गण सा० दिगम सा० याका सा० जाहड सा० रागू भार्या मणिकसुत महग कौनू केलू बालू सा० महग भार्या रूपिणी सुत नेमि धांधा बीजा यमदेव घमा रामदेव मिरौचन्द प्रणमति नित्यं ।

यह लेख श्याम पाषाण की एक देवी की मूर्ति की पाटली पर है। यह मूर्ति बदनावर से पूर्व में अमला नामक ग्राम में गई हुई जैन मंदिर में स्थापित है। अमला पांच मील दूरी पर है।

In these inscriptions it appears to me the name Vardhanpur or Vardhanāpur is a mere Sanskritization of Vardhanawar into which Vardhamānapur may have already got corrupted during the preceding centuries, while the true ancient name is preserved in the name of the Āmnāya which had persisted there and which may be the branch of Pannāta gaṇa established there at the time of Jinasena.

There remains only one difficulty in these identifications. In verse 44 of his praśasti Jinasena makes mention of the goddess Simha-vāhinī of Ūrjayantālaya being in the vicinity for the sake of Śiva. The verse runs as follows:—

यद्येतच्चक्राऽप्रतिष्ठादेवता तथोर्जयन्तालयसिंहवाहिनी ।

शिवाय यस्मिन्निह सन्निधौयते क्व तत्र विद्वाः प्रभवन्ति प्रासने ॥

Obviously the reference here is to the famous shrine of Ambā-devī at Ūrjayanta or Girnar and it cannot ordinarily be said to be close to Badnawar. But a little closer attention to the verse and its poetic conception suggests the solution. Though Badnawar is not very near to Ūrjayanta, it is quite close to Ujjain

where the famous Mahākāla temple of Śiva has existed for ages. Probably a replica of the Ambikā's image at Ūrjayanta was installed at Vardhamānapura and this fact is conceived by the poet as the arrival of Ambikā in the locality for the sake of Śiva. Thus, there is a pun on the word Śiva meaning god Śiva or welfare. This idea makes the verse particularly beautiful and poetic. It is probably the only way in which a Jaina monk could regard a goddess riding on a lion to be conducive to welfare. In this connection the inscription No. 3 from Badnawar given above is noteworthy. It shows that the practice of installing replicas of the goddess Ambikā had persisted there even up to the twelfth century.

Incidentally, Jinasena has given to us quite a new suggestion regarding the origin of the name Saurāṣṭra which was so far understood to be derived from $\text{सु} + \text{राष्ट्र}$ and was regarded synonymous with Saurājya (JASB, 1873, p. 105, N. L. Dey's Geographical Dictionary). Jinasena's mention of the country as the Maṇḍala of the Sauras shows that the ancient people of that country called themselves *Sauras* probably from the fact of their being sun-worshippers, and they gave the name to that region.

This Badnawar or old Vardhamānapura must also be the town where Harishena wrote his Kathā-Kośha in Śaka 853, i.e. 148 years later than Jinasena. It is well known that by this time the whole of northern India including Central India and the kingdom of Malwa had come directly under the rule of the Gurjar-Pratihāra kings of whom Vināyakapāla is known to have been ruling in A.D. 931 or Śaka 853, that is exactly the year of the composition of the Kathā-Kośha. Although the suzerainty of these monarchs is known to have extended to Saurāṣṭra, nevertheless it is also known that the local rule of the Varāha kings had persisted there, as is clear from the Haḍḍala copperplates of Dharaṇī Varāha, dated Śaka 836. If Harishena was writing at Wadhwan, the capital of the Varāha rulers, he could not have omitted to mention the local ruler at least side by side with his overlord. This also shows that Wadhwan was not the place where the Kathā-Kośha was written.

If the identification of Jinasena's Vardhamānapura with Badnawar is correct, it should lead us to the identification of the other place mentioned by Jinasena, namely Dostaṭikā where he completed the remaining portion of his Harivaṃśa purāṇa and which Pandit Premi and Dr. Upadhye have not attempted to identify. At a distance of about twelve miles to the west of Badnawar there is a village called *Dotaria* which appears to me to be the modern representative of Dostaṭikā where Jinasena completed his composition of Harivaṃśa purāṇa which could not be completed at Vardhamānapura when he left it.

From the comparison of the modern name with the older one it appears that the original name may have been दोतरिका which might have been at first applied to the stream Bagedi flowing on its eastern side and which may be deep enough 'to be crossed by arms'. By its association the village also may have come to be called by the same name. Or the original name may have been द्वितटिका, later on corrupted into दोतरिका and then wrongly Sanskritized into दोतरिका. The significance of this name would be that the village had river-banks on its two sides, it being situated between the rivers Bagedi and Mahi, the latter flowing about a mile to its west into which the river Bagedi itself falls at some distance away from the village. Writing about Dotaria Mr. Nandlal Loḍhā informs me as follows:-

दोतरिया बटनावरसे पश्चिम दिशा में १० मील की दूरी पर है। गांव के पास बागेडी नदी बहती है और एक मील की दूरी पर मही नदी बहती है। बागेडी कुछ दूर जाकर बोरदा के पास मही में मिली है। दोतरिया के पास मही नदी जो है उसके पश्चिम तरफ गुजरात वा पूर्व तरफ मालवा की सीमा को शुरुवात मानते हैं।

Thus, Dotaria still forms the boundary between Malwa and Gujarat

BODHICITTA IN TANTRIC BUDDHISM

By S. B. DAS GUPTA

PRAJÑĀ AND UPĀYA AS ŚIVA AND ŚAKTI

With the conception of *Prajñā* and *Upāya* as *Nirvṛti* and *Pravṛtti* or as the *Ādi-prajñā* and *Ādi-Buddha* we may compare the conception of Śiva and Śakti and the *aham* or the 'I-ness' which is said to be produced by their union (*śiva-śakti-milhunapīṇḍa*). The ultimate truth is the union of Śiva and Śakti. Śiva represents pure consciousness which is inactive—the static aspect of the ultimate reality; while Śakti represents the world force—the kinetic energy of the ultimate truth. Śiva is *Nirvṛti* and Śakti is *Pravṛtti* and in the ultimate state they remain in a union of oneness.¹ From the cosmological standpoint Śiva is said to be the *Bindu* (of white colour to suggest the comparison with the seed or semen) and Śakti is *Rakta* (of red colour to suggest the comparison with the ovum) and this *Bindu* and *Rakta* unite together to produce the principle of I-ness or egoism.

This conception of the two counterparts of the ultimate reality has its correspondence in the conceptions of the *Garbha-dhātu* and the *Vajra-dhātu* of Northern Buddhism in general. The *Vajra-dhātu* or the 'thunder-element' is the immutable nature—it is, in other words, the *tathatā* element, while the *Garbha-dhātu* is the 'matrix element' or the phenomenal world corresponding to the *tathāgata-garbha*. They are the two parts of the Maṇḍala.² Their union is symbolized in Nepal by the flame arising from the lotus or the moon-crescent (the flame symbolizing the male element and the lotus or the moon-crescent symbolizing the female element) or by the flame arising from the *kalaśa* (jar); in Tibet the union is symbolised by the *Aśoka* branch in the ambrosia vase, and in both Chinese

¹ Cf the Hindu Tantric principle of designating the *Sahasrāra* (situated in the cerebrum region) to be the abode of Śiva and the lowest *Mūlādhāra-cakra* to be the seat of Śakti in the form of an electric force, generally known as the *Kūla-kundalinī-śakti*; this lower region where Śakti resides is generally known as the region of *Pravṛtti* while the higher region or the region of pure intellection is called the region of *Nirvṛti*—and the Sādhana consists in rousing the Śakti, residing in the region of *Pravṛtti*, to unite with the Śiva residing in the region of *Nirvṛti*; the bliss proceeding from the union of Śiva and Śakti is the highest religious realization.

² The Maṇḍala is the circle with Buddha Mahāvairocana in the centre and with numberless manifestations of his body, such as Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and others, gathered round him.

and Nepalese Buddhism by Yin-yang (the female and the male).¹ There Yoga consists in the mystic union of this immutable element, or we may say, the 'thatness' of the dharmas with the active element as the material world. It is for this reason that the theory of Yab-yum (the male and the female) could find so much prominence in Northern Buddhism, particularly in Nepal and Tibet where almost all the divinities are accompanied by their female counterparts in a state of close union.

Getty interprets the *Mudrā* (the posture, generally of the hands) of Vairocana (the Lord Supreme of the Shingon Sect) as indicating this mystic union. "As Dhyāni Buddha he has the *Dharma-cakra-mudrā*, which the Tibetans call Thabdong-shesrab, or the union of wisdom with matter."²

This two-fold division of the ultimate reality is also found in the Taoism of China. There also Tao means 'The Great' (Cf. Skt. Brahman) and Tei is the power, or activity or the Śakti of 'the great'. They are the negative and positive aspects of the one truth. The creation is through their union—through Yinn and Yang (the female and the male).

But we should notice here a very important point of difference between the Buddhist conception of the two aspects of the truth and that of the Śāktas as well as of the Taoists. In Śākta-tantra as well as in Taoism the passive subjective aspect of the ultimate reality is conceived as the male, whereas the active counterpart has always been conceived as the female, and this conception of passivity as the male and the active counterpart as the female is found in many of the systems of Indian philosophy as represented in the Tantras. The Puruṣa of the Sāṃkhya-system is absolutely qualitless, he is the pure inactive consciousness, while all the *guṇas* with all their active functions belong to Prakṛti who is generally conceived as the

¹ See *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* by A. Getty.

² "As Ādi-Buddha he has the mudra of the Six-Elements, which also indicates the same principle, and although rare in Tibet, is often found in Japan. The index finger of the left hand is clasped by the five fingers of the right. The six fingers represent the Six-Elements which when united, produce the six-fold bodily and mental happiness". He further explains: "The five fingers of the right hand represent the five material elements of which man is composed: earth (little finger), water (ring finger), fire (middle finger), air (index finger) and ether (the thumb). The index finger of the left hand represents the same symbol of Ādi-Buddha; for the sixth element, the mind (*manas*) is a particle of his essence.

The two hands, thus representing the union of the Spiritual with the Material, correspond to the *Vajra-dhātu* and *Garbha-dhātu* of the Maṇḍala of the Two parts. The *Vajra-dhātu*, represented by the index finger, is the 'diamond' element corresponding to the spiritual world. The *Garbha-dhātu*, indicated by the five fingers, is the 'matrix' element, corresponding to the material world." *Ibid.*, p. 30.

female. In Vedānta also the Brahman is qualitless and indeterminate, while the world-illusion is ascribed wholly to the activity of *māyā*, and this *māyā* in Tantric literature always bears with her an air of femininity. But here in Buddhism we find the conception reversed; *Śūnyatā* or *Prajñā* which is qualitless and unchangeable is conceived of as the female while *Karuṇā* or *Upāya* with the active inspiration is conceived of as the male. It may, however, be noted here that the conception of the female as the passive and the male as the active is not also quite unknown in the history of Indian thought.

Often we find that *Prajñā* and *Upāya* have been expressly identified with *Śakti* and *Śiva*. It has been said that by the union of *Śiva* and *Śakti*, who are free from all characteristics and definition and who transcend all verbal expression, is produced wonderful bliss; when we consider things from the ultimate standpoint, we see that there is no existence in reality; all existence is brought forth through the activities of *Śakti*. This *Śakti* becomes the *śūnyatā*-perception when she contradicts all affirmation about things.¹ Again it is said—Perfect bliss is obtained from the union of *Śiva* and *Śakti* and this bliss is the highest non-duality; but in the ultimate reality there is neither the *Śiva* nor the *Śakti*.² Again it has been demonstrated that the Vedāntists also take the bliss that proceeds from the union of *Śiva* and *Śakti* to be the same bliss which proceeds from the knowledge of the Brahman; there is no tinge of sorrow there—there is eternal and incessant bliss—this bliss or joy is the nature of the Brahman—this is what is called liberation.

In some places, however, we find that the Bodhi-mind is spoken of as the *Upāya* while the goddess *Nairātmā* or *Śūnyatā* as the *Prajñā*. In the *Guhya-siddhi* we find that the presiding deity over the mind is the Lord Supreme (*Bhagavān*) and *Prajñā* is the adamant woman,³ and the Lord was amorously sporting with this adamantine woman in the form of *Mahāsukha*. When the Bodhi-mind in its upward march reaches the ultimate state it merges itself wholly in *Nairātmā* or *Śūnyatā* or the Sahaja-bliss—and this

¹ *lakṣya-lakṣaṇa-nirmuktaṃ vāg-udāhāra-varjitaṃ |*
śiva-śakti-samāyogāt jāyate cā'dbhūtaṃ sukham ||
na santi tattvato bhāvaḥ śaktirūpeṇa bhāvitaḥ |
śaktis tu śūnyatā-dṛṣṭiḥ sarvā-ropa-vināśini ||

—*Nirṇāda-tantra*, quoted in the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha* (G.O.S.), p. 28.

² *śiva-śakti-samāyogāt sat-sukhaṃ param advayam |*
na śivo nāpi śaktiś ca ratnā-ntargata-samsthitaṃ ||

—*Ucchuṣma-tantra* quoted in the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*

³ *bhagavāniti nirdiṣṭaṃ cittasyā'dhīpatih prabhuh |*
vajro-yosita smṛtā prajñā yā sā savajrīṇa-tmikā ||

merging of the Bodhi-mind in goddess *Nairātmā*, or perfect vacuity of the nature of intense bliss, is called the union of the Lord Mind and the Lady Vacuity. Thus we find in a song of Kukkurīpāda—'Desireless am I (the goddess *Nairātmā*), and the void-mind is my husband'.¹ Tillopāda says in his *Dohās*, 'Where the mind and the vacuity enter into the bliss arising out of the communion, the objects of the senses are not perceived at all.'² Again he says, 'The mind is the Lord and the Vacuity is the Lady; they should always be kept united in the *Sahaja*.'³ In a *Dohā* of Kāṇhupāda also it has been said about the ultimate state that the lord mind merges himself in his wife vacuity and becomes one with her as salt dissolves in water.⁴ In some places again intense bliss (*mahā-sukha*) as the ultimate nature and as perfect knowledge has been spoken of as the Yoginī, whereas the Bodhi-mind as the Yogin. This Yoginī was variously called as the *Jñāna-mudrā* (the woman of knowledge) or the *Mahā-mudrā* (the great woman)—she is the *Sahaja*-damsel, with whom the Yogin is united day and night. The Yogin often says, he would not live without her kiss and embrace—he passes his dark night (of ignorance) in union with that great woman. In the Caryāpadas of the Siddhācāryas we will find many songs about this transcendental love and union of the Yogin and Yoginī often garbed in the metaphors of ordinary love and sex-union of man and woman.

PRAJÑĀ AND UPĀYA AS MALE AND FEMALE

It is clear from the above that the absolute reality contains two aspects in its nature—*Prajñā* or Śakti and *Upāya* or Śiva. Thus the fundamental theological position of the Buddhist Tantras and that of the Hindu Tantras become exactly the same. Now as there is the belief in the Hindu Tantras that the two aspects of the reality are revealed in the world in the form of male and female in general so there is the belief in the Buddhist Tantras that all men and women are nothing but the manifestation of

¹ *hāu nirāsī kha-maṇa-bhatārī* | Song No. 20

² *citta khasama jāhi samasuha palatṭhai* |
(*india-visaa takhi matta*) *na dīsai* ||

—*Dohā* No. 5. (Dr. P. C. Bagchi's Ed.)

³ *maṇaha (bhaavā) khasama bhaavai* |
(*divārātti sahaje rahai*) ||

—*Dohā* No. 17. (Dr. P. C. Bagchi's Ed.)

⁴ *jīma loṇa viliṇjai pāṇichī tima gharinī lai cilla* |
samarasa jāi takkhaṇe jāi puṇu to sama nitta ||

—*Dohā* No. 32.

Upāya and *Prajñā* respectively; or in other words all men and women are *Upāya* and *Prajñā* in their ultimate nature.

In the Buddhist Tantras *Prajñā* has generally been designated either as the goddess (*bhagavatī*) or as the *Mudrā* (which technically refers to the woman to be adopted for the *sādhana*), or the *Mahā-mudrā*, or the *Vajra-kanyā* (the *vajra*-girl), or as the young woman (*yuvatī*), or often as the female organ.¹ In the *Hevajra-tantra*, we see that the *Prajñā* is called the mother (*jananī*), the sister (*bhaginī*), the washer-woman (*rajakī*), the dancing girl (*nartakī*), the daughter (*duhitā*), the Doma-girl (*ḍombī*), etc. The terminology is of course explained, but often very arbitrarily. It is said that *Prajñā* is called *jananī* because she gives birth to all the beings of the world; she is *bhaginī* as she shows all the differences (*vibhāga*); she is *rajakī* because she pleases all the beings (*rañjanāt*); she is *duhitā* as she accumulates all the qualities (*duhanāt*); she is *nartakī* because of her changing character; she is *ḍombī* (a woman of a very low untouchable class) because she cannot be touched.² In the commentary of Kṛṣṇācārya (*Hevajra-pañjikā* or *Yoga-raṭnamālā*) it has been explained that *Prajñā* is *jananī* because in the form of 'great-bliss' (*mahā-sukha*) she gives birth to the world.³ Again as the beginners cannot grasp her steadily, she is called *nartakī*.⁴ She is *asparśā* as she cannot be grasped by the senses.⁵

¹ In the *Vajra-sarasvatī-sādhana* of the *Sādhana-mālā* we find *Prajñā* styled as the goddess (*Prajñām bhagavatīm*, etc.) (p. 320). In the *Kanaka-varṇa-prajñā-pāramitā-sādhana* also *Prajñā-pāramitā* is said to be the *Bhagavatī* (p. 321). In the chapter on *Amanasikāra-dhāra* of the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha* we find *sūnyatā* described as the *Bhagavatī* *Prajñā* (p. 62). In the *Advaya-siddhi* also *Prajñā* is styled to be the goddess (MS. Central Library of Baroda, p. 36).

² *jananī bhanyate prajñā janayati yasmāt-jagaj-janam |*
bhaginī'ti tathā prajñā vibhāgaṃ darśayet yataḥ ||
rajakī'ti duhitā ca nartakī ca prakalhyate |
rañjanāt sarva-sattvānām rajakī'ti tathā smṛtā ||
guṇasya duhanāt prajñā duhitā ca nigadyate |
nartakī bhanyate prajñā cañcalatvāt mahākṛpā |
asparśā bhavati yasmāt tasmāt ḍombī prakalhyate ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS. (R A S B. No. 11317), p. 13(B).

These lines also occur in the *Sampūṭikā*. Cf. MS. (R A S B. No. 4854), p. 4(A).

³ *mahā-sukhā-kāreṇa viśvasya janānāt jananī |*

—MS. (Cambridge Add. No. 1699), p. 20(A).

⁴ *ādi-karmika-sattvaḥ sthīrī-kartum aśakyatvāt nartakī |*

—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 20(A).

⁵ *indriyāṇām agocaratvāt |*

—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 20(A).

Here of course the designations of *Prajñā* as mother, sister, daughter, etc. have got some sort of metaphysical significance; but in other places the plain implication

In the *Śrīguhya-samāja-tantra* a beautiful girl of sixteen to be adopted in the practice is said to be the *Prajñā*.¹ Sarahapāda in one place salutes all young women, who are described as the embodiment of *Prajñā*—who are like the wish-yielding creepers personified—who destroy all the sufferings (kleśa) of the three worlds.² In the *Hevajra-tantra* also we find that the female is called the *Prajñā* whereas the male is called the *Upāya*.³ In the *Śrī-cakra-sambhāra-tantra* we find—‘Appearance, Method and great compassion are the male deity whilst the void, *Prajñā*, tranquillity and great bliss are the female deity’.⁴ In the *Jvālāvalī-vajramālā-tantra* it is said that the goddess *Prajñā* resides in all women and the

is that the mother, sister, daughter, or any woman of any caste, however low it may be, can be adopted as the *Prajñā* (or the woman) in the mystic practice

mātaram bhaginīncava duktām bāndhavīm tathā |
brāhmaṇīm kṣatrinīncava vaiśyām sūdrinīm tathā |
naṭīm rajakīm ca dombīm ca caṇḍālīnīm tathā |
prajñopāya-vidhānena pūjayet tattvavatsalah ||

—*Sampūṭikā*, MS., pp. 3(A), 3(B).

See also, *Prajñō-pāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, ch. V, *Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 12A, 60(B); *Ekallā-vīra-caṇḍa-mahā-rosana-tantra*, MS., p. 8(B)

In justification of this action it is said, *Prajñā* is devoid of all thought-constructions and consequently she is above all the notions of differences, that being the case, for a Yogin there should not be any notion of difference among the mother, the sister, the daughter and any other girl even of the lowest caste. If there be any notion of distinction at all it is to be understood that the Yogin is not yet fully fit for the *Yoga*, for he has not obtained the *śūnyatā* knowledge which effaces all such notions of distinction. It is therefore warned that the / *ī* should be carefully worshipped so that no notion of difference may arise at an *eviltaryā prayatnena yathā bhedo na jāyate*, *Sampūṭikā*, MS., p. 3(B); *Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 12(A), cf. also *Hevajra-panjikā*, MS., pp. 17(B)–18(A), *Citta-viśuddhi-prakaraṇa*, verses (101–106). (Cf. *Śrī-guhyā-samāja*, Ch. V)

¹ *soḍaśā-bhikṣām samprāpya yoṣulām kānti-suprabhām |*
gandha-ṣuṣpākulam kṛtvā tasya madhye tu kāmayet ||
adhivesṣya ca tām prajñām . . . etc

—*Pāṭali IV*, p. 19 (G.G.S.)

Cf. also . . . *yām kānti svabhā-(va?) prajñā-rupeṇa sarvā-lāṅkā-gātrā*
trivalī-taraṅga-bhaṅgābhīrāmā . . . etc

—Quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*.

² *yāsām ākṛtīr aprapañca-vimāla-prajñāmayī sarvagā |*
sākṣāt kalpa-lataiva tri-bhuvane yāḥ kleśa-jvālā-cchidāḥ
śrī-mad-vajra-padā-nkītā yuvatayas tābhyo namaḥ sarvataḥ ||

—Quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha*.

³ *yoṣit tūvat bhavet prajñā upāyaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ |*

—MS., p. 21(A)

Cf. also *Ibid.*, MS., p. 39(B). Cf. also *Sahaja-siddhi* of Dombi-Heruka

—MS. (C.L.B.), p. 82.

Cf. also *Prajñā praveśayet tatra vajra-kanyām athānyapāt ||*

—*Dākārnava*, p. 157 (Sāhitya-Pariṣat Edition)

⁴ Translated from Thibetan by Kazi Dawasamdup, p. 28.

Lord remains in all men.¹ In the *Ekalla-vira-caṇḍa-mahā-roṣaṇa-tantra* we find the Lord Caṇḍaroṣaṇa explaining to the Lady that all men are of the nature of the Lord who is *Upāya* and all women are of the nature of the Lady who is *Prajñā*; and the whole world is of the nature of the unity of *Prajñā* and *Upāya*. As the son of *Māyādevī* Lord Buddha was the incarnation of *Upāya* and his wife *Gopā* was the incarnation of *Prajñā* or *Prajñā-pāramitā*—and Lord Buddha attained *Mahāsukha* (supreme bliss) of the nature of *Nirvāṇa* in union with the *Prajñā* *Gopā*.²

In the *Pañca-krama* of Nāgārjuna-pāda we find four grades or stages in *Śūnyatā*, of which the first is the *śūnyatā* and the second is *atisūnyatā*, and the *Śūnyatā* has been described as the *Prajñā*³ and it is also called the woman.⁴ *Atisūnya* is called the *Upāya*.⁵ And the sex analogy and the sex-element is also there.⁶

In some places, *Prajñā* is described as the female organ and *Upāya* as the male organ. *Prajñā* is called the female organ because it is the abode of all pleasure which is great bliss (*mahā-sukha*).⁷ It can also be inferred that the female organ is called the *Prajñā*

¹ *sarvanāri-mayā-devī sarvopāyamayah prabhuh*

—MS., p. 14(B)

² *māyādevī-sutaś cā'ham caṇḍa-roṣaṇatām gatah |
tvam eva bhagavatī gopā prajñā-pāramitā-tmikā ||
yāvantas tu strīyah sarvās t(v)ad rūpeṇava tā matāh |
mad-rūpeṇa pumāmsas tu sarva eva prakīrtitā ||
dvayor bhāva-gatam caitat prajñā-pāyā-tmakam jagat |*

—MS. (R A S B. No. 9089), p. 16(B)

Cf. also. *nara-vajradharā-kāraḥ yositah vajra-yositah ||*

—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 15(A)

³ *ālokaṃ śūnyam prajñā ca cittaṃ ca paratantrakam*

—MS., p. 20(A).

⁴ *strī samjñā ca tathā proktā, etc*

—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 20(B)

⁵ *ālokā-bhāsam ity uktam atisūnyam upāyakam | Ibid.*, MS., p. 20(B).

Cf. also: *prajñā-pāya-samāyogād iti | śūnya-prajñā āloka iti
yāvat | atisūnyam upāya āloka-bhāsa iti yāvat | tayoh samāyogo'bhyāsaḥ.*

Pañca-krama-tippaṇī, MS., p. 43(B)

⁶ Cf. *rāgaś carva virāgaś ca dvayor antarita-trayam |
dvīndriyasya samāpatyā vajra-padma-samāgamāt || etc*

Pañca-krama, MS., p. 22(A).

⁷ Cf. *yena kleśo-panihanyate | prajñā-dhinaś ca te kleśāḥ saukhyāt prajñā bhaga
ucyate.*

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 11(A).

Cf. also: *yonī-svabhāvataḥ prajñā upāyo bhāva-lakṣaṇam ||*

—*Śrī-guhyā-samāja-tantra*, p. 153.

Cf. *kha-dhātu-vajra-samyogāt, etc.*

—*Kriyā-saṃgraha*, MS., p. 75(A).

because all the beings have their birth from here as all the beings have their origin from the *Prajñā* or the *Sūnyatā*.¹

It is said in the *Hevajra-tantra*—‘The lord is of the form of the seed while its pleasure is called the girl’.² These *Prajñā* and *Upāya* as the symbol of the female and the male are generally called the thunder and the lotus.³ We have seen before that *Vajrā* is the *sūnyatā*; it has also been extensively used as the synonym for the male organ. The use of the lotus as the symbol of the generating organ is rather well known, but the use of the Vajra for the male organ is rather confusing and technical. They are also technically called the *bola* or *bolaka* and *kakkola* or *kakkolaka*.⁴

PRAJÑĀ-UPĀYA AS LALANĀ-RASANĀ, RIGHT AND LEFT, VOWEL AND CONSONANTS, ETC

Prajñā and *Upāya* are also called *lalanā* and *rasanā* which are again found to be the name of two nerves corresponding to *Idā* and *Piṅgalā* well-known in Hindu Tantric nervous system. The nerve where the two nerves commingling is called the *Avadhūtī* which is again the middle nerve corresponding to the *Susumnā* nerve of the Hindu Tantras; and this nerve is regarded as the way to nirvāṇa. It has been said, ‘*Lalanā* is of the nature of *Prajñā*, and *Rasanā* remains as the *Upāya*, and *Avadhūtī* remains in the middle as the

¹ *dharmo-dayo-dbhavam jñānam kha-samam sopāyā-nvītam*
trilokyas tatra-jāte hi prajño-pāya-svarūpatāh ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS, p. 23(B)

Cf. Comm. *tha tan-mudrā-yosit-kamalam dharmo-dayam* |

² *sukrā-kūro bhavet bhagavān tat-sukham kāmīnī smṛtam* |

—MS., p. 23(B) Cf. also *Heruka-tantra*.

³ Cf. *prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi*, p. 42, *strī-ndriyam ca yathā padmam vajram pumse-ndriyam tathā* |

—*Jñāna-siddhi*, ch. 2, verse 11

Cf. *vajrā-bja-gharsanāt prajño-pāya-samāpatyā*. Comm. on *Dohakoṣa* of Kānha

Cf. also, — *Sahaja-siddhi* of Dombī-pāda, quoted in the *Subhāsita-saṃgraha*, p. 60. *Ghaṇṭā-pāḍīya-pañcakrama*, quoted in the *Subhāsita-saṃgraha*, p. 74; *Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 21(B). (*kha-dhātūviti padmesu*), *Dakārṇava* (Ed. by Dr. N. Chaudhuri), p. 123, *Kṛiyāsaṃgraha*, MS., pp. 75(B), 76(A), *Śrī-guhyā-samāja-tantra*, pp. 25, 28; Comm. on *Marmakalikā-tantra*, MS. (B.N. Sans. No. 83), p. 15(B).

Cf. also *kamala kuṇḍa mājhe bhaṭa mīālī* (Cf. *prajño-pāya-samatām*, etc. Comm.), *Caryā* No. 47.

vāja nāva pādī pāuā khāle vāhiu | *Caryā* No. 49.

(Cf. *prajñā-ravinda-kuhara-hrade sad-guru-carano-pāyena praveṣitam* Comm.)

⁴ *vajram volakam khyātam padmam kakkolakam matam*.

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS, p. 44(A).

abode of *Mahā-sukha*.¹ It is also interesting to note that in the Hindu Tantras the nerve *Idā* which corresponds to the *Lalanā* and which is of the nature of the moon is said to be the Śakti and *Piṅgalā* corresponding to the *Rasanā* and of the nature of the sun is spoken of as the *Puruṣa* (the male principle).² Again these *lalanā* and *rasanā* are said to carry seed and ovum respectively.³ We may also notice that *Prajñā* has been called *vāma* (left) in the *Pañca-krama*⁴ and *Upāya* has been named the *dakṣiṇa* (right),⁵ and this *lalanā* is also the nerve in the left side and *rasanā* in the right side. Again *Prajñā* is often spoken of as the vowel or the vowel 'a', or the series of letters beginning with 'a' (*āli*); and *Upāya*, in contrast, is spoken of as representing the consonants or the

¹ *Sādhana-mālā*, p. 448.

Cf. also *lalanā prajñā-svarūpeṇa rasano-pāya-samsthītā* |
tayor madhye gataṁ devī amkāraṁ viśva-rūpiṇī ||

—*Heruka-tantra*, MS., p. 74(B).

Cf. also *lalanā prajñā-svabhāvena rasano-pāya samsthītā* |
avadhūti madhya-deśe tu grāhya-grāhaka-varjitatā ||

—*Vajra-vārūhi-kalpa-mahā-tantra*, MS., p. 27(A) *Hevajra-tantra*,
 MS., p. 3(a). *Heruka-tantra*, MS., p. 15(A).

lalanā rasanā nāḍī prajñā-pāyaś ca melakāḥ ||

—*Dākārnava* (ed MM. H. P. Śāstrī), p. 158.

² *vāmagā yā idā nāḍī śukla-candra-svarūpiṇī* |
śakti-rūpā hi sū devī sākṣād amṛta-vigrahā ||
dakṣe tu piṅgalā nāma puruṣa sūrya-vigrahah |
raudrātmikā mahādevī dādīm-keśara-prabhā ||

—*Sammohana-tantra* quoted in the *Ṣaṭcakra-nirūpanam*. Ed by
 A. Avalon.

³ Cf. also:—

akṣobhya-vahā lalanā rasanā rakta-pravāhiṇī |
avadhūty amita-nāthasya ūdhara bhāvinī sadā ||

—*Sādhana-mālā*, p. 448 (G.O.S.)

akṣobhyavahā lalanā rasanā rakta-vāhiṇī |
tathā prajñā candra-vahā avadhūti sā prakīrtitā ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 3(A).

teṣāṁ madhye sthitā nāḍī lalanā śukra-vāhiṇī |
dakṣiṇe rasanā khyātā nāḍī rakta (pra)vāhiṇī ||

—*Heruka-tantra*, MS., p. 14(B).

Cf. *Vajra-vārūhi-kalpa-mahā-tantra*, MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 11285), p. 26(B). This MS. preserved in the R.A.S.B. seems to be substantially the same as the *Śrī-Dākārnave Mahāyoginī-tantrarāja* published with the *Apabhraṁśa dohās* along with the *Caryāpadas* by MM. H. P. Śāstrī; but there are important additions and alterations.

We should note one important confusion here. *Lalanā* is said to be *Prajñā* but it is said to carry seed, whereas *Rasanā* which is said to be *Upāya* is said to carry ovum; but the statement ought to have been reversed to be consistent with the analogy of the Tantric Buddhists.

⁴ *vāma-samjñāṁ punascaiva*, etc., MS., p. 20(B).

⁵ *divā-puruṣa-samjñā ca svarā-kāraśca dakṣiṇāḥ* || MS., p. 21(A).

letter 'ka' or the series beginning with the letter 'ka' (*kālī*). In the chapter on *Amanasikāra* of *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha* we find that the letter 'a' in the beginning of the word '*a-manasikāra*' implies the non-organization of all that is imagined to be produced.¹ In justification of this interpretation it is cited from the *Mantra-pāṭala* (second chapter of the first *kalpa*) of the *Hevajra-tantra* that as the letter 'a' is without beginning or origination, so also are all the *dharma*s—so the uncreate nature of the *dharma*s as the *śūnyatā* is represented by 'a'; so *Prajñā* who is *śūnyatā* is 'a'. About the nature of 'a' it has been said in the *Nāma-saṅgīti* that 'a' is the first of all letters, it is full of deep significance, it is absolutely immutable—it is long—uncreate and free from all vocal modulations.² 'A' is said to be the first and the most important of all the letters and all other letters evolved from this first letter 'a'. In the *Ekalla-vīra-caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa-tantra* we find that the vowel 'a' means the non-artificial innate nature, and, therefore, 'a' represents *Prajñā* and 'va' represents the *Upāya*.³ It is also interesting to note that in the Hindu texts we often find that 'a' represents *Brahmā* or the creator of the universe.⁴ In the *Gītā* also Lord Kṛṣṇa says that among the letters he is 'a'. So the fact of the letter 'a' being the representative of the *śūnyatā* seems to be significant. Often it is seen that *Prajñā* or *Śūnyatā* is represented not merely by 'a' but by the vowels in general,⁵ and is indicated by the general name *ālī* (i.e. the vowel series beginning with 'a').⁶

¹ P. 6r (G.O.S.).

² *akāraḥ sarva-varṇāgro mahā-rthah paramā-ksarah |*
mahā-prāṇo hy anutpādo vāg-udāhāra-varjitaḥ ||

—Quoted in the *Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha*, p. 62

Cf. also. *akāro mukham sarva-dharmānām ādyanutpannatvāt |*

—Kṛṣṇa-yīmāri-tantra quoted in the *Catalogue of Sans. Buddhist MSS*, R.A.S.B., Vol. I, p. 149.

Again, *ādi-svara-svabhāvā sā hīti buddhaiḥ prakalpitā |*
sarva bhagavatī prajñā utpanna-krama-yogataḥ ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS, p. 49(A)

³ *akāreṇā'kṛtrimam sahaḥ-svabhāvam uktaṃ*

akāreṇocyate prajñā vakāreṇa hy upāyakam |

prajñā-pāyaka-yogena lakāra-sukha-lakṣaṇā ||

—MS. (R.A.S.B. No. 9089), p. 23(B)

⁴ *akāre liyate brahmā ukāre liyate hariḥ |*

makāre liyate rudraḥ praṇave hi paraḥ smṛtaḥ ||

⁵ Cf. *Sādhana-māla*, pp. 476, 557.

⁶ *prajñā'li kaly upāyeti*.—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 20(A).

Also *kakāra ādir yasyā'sau kādīḥ kālīḥ, akāraḥ ādir yasyā'sau ādir āliḥ |*

—*Marma-kalikā-tantra*, MS. (B.N. Sans. No. 837), pp. 9(A) and 9(B).

ālī akārā-di-ṣoḍaśa-svarāṇ tathā tenaiva kramaṇa kālī kakārā-di-hakāra-paryantam |—MS., p. 53(A). Again, *akārā-di āliḥ kakārā-diḥ kālīḥ*.—*Hevajra-Pañjikā*, MS., p. 6(A).

In contrast with *āli* representing *Prajñā*, *kāli* or the consonantal series represents *Upāya*. This *Prajñā* and *Upāya* or *āli* and *kāli* are then associated with the moon and the sun, or the night and the day respectively.¹ In the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* it has been said that the night is obtained through the consonants and the day through the vowels.² Here in the Buddhist texts there is an inversion of the notion. But this in general may explain the association of *āli* with the moon or the night and of *kāli* with the sun or the day. *Lalanā* and *Rasanā* has also been associated with the moon and the sun, and they are said to be the two nerves flowing from the left and right of the nasal cavity.³

Again *Prajñā* has been said to be the syllable 'e' and *Upāya* the syllable 'va'. In the *Sādhana-mālā* we find that *Prajñā* should be meditated on as the syllable 'e'.⁴ It is said in the *Saṃpūṭikā*, "*Prajñā* is said to be 'e' while *Upāya* is the syllable 'va'; and this 'e' shines only when it is adorned with 'va'."⁵ In the *Hevajra-tantra* and in many other Tantras it is said, "That divine 'e' which is adorned in the middle with the *vajra* is the abode of all bliss or happiness—it is the abode of all the gems of the Buddhas; all joy is produced there, qualified by the moments; when one is established in this *evanākāra* one realizes bliss through the knowledge of the moments."⁶ In the *Dohākoṣa* of Kaṇhupāda

¹ *sthitā-liś candra-rūpeṇa kāli-rūpeṇa bhāskarāḥ |*
candra-sūrya-dvayor-mela gauryaḍyās te prakīrtitāḥ ||
prajñāli-kūly upāye'ti candrā-rkasya prabhedanāt |
—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 20(A)
candra-sūryo-parāgesu prajñā-vajra-prayogataḥ |
vilīne advaye jñāne buddhatvam iha-janmani ||

—Quoted in the *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, p. 70

² *vyañjanairēva rātrir āpnuvanti svarair ahaṇi |*
—*Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* (II 2, 4)

Quoted by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, D.Litt., in his *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 73.

³ Cf. *lalanā rasanā ravi-sasi tudīa venṇa vi pāse |*

—*Dohākoṣa* of Kaṇhupāda, verse No 5

Cf. also the comm. *lalanā-śabdenā'liḥ prajñā-candro vidhīyate | tasya vāma-nāsā-
puṭa-svabhāvas tena prāṇa-pravāhiṇī lalanā sthitā | rasanā-śabdena kālirūpā*
etc.

—MS., B.N. Sans. No. 47, p. 40(B).

⁴ *sva-dhātau cintayet dhīmān prajñām ekāra-rūpiṇīm |*—P. 444.

⁵ *ekāreṇa smṛtā prajñā vaṅkāraś cā'py upāyakam |*
vaṅkāra-bhūṣiṭaś cā'sāv ekārah śobhate dhruvam |
adho-rddhva-samāpatyā prajño-pāya-svabhātaḥ ||

—MS., p. 10(A).

⁶ *ekāra-kṛti yad divyaṃ madhye vaṅkāra-bhūṣitam |*
ālāya-sarva-saukhyānām buddha-ratna-karaṇḍakam ||
ānandās tatra jāyante kṣaṇa-bhedena-bheditaḥ |
kṣaṇa-jñānāt sukha-jñānam evaṅkāre pratiṣṭhitam ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., pp. 38(B)–39(A).

it has been said, 'He who has understood *e-vaṁkāra* has understood everything completely.'¹ This 'e' has again been called the mother and the 'va' the father and the *bindu* is produced by their union. Again, 'e' is the *Prajñā* and 'va' is the Lord in sex-intercourse, and the *bindu* is the immutable knowledge proceeding from their union.² This 'e' and 'vaṁ' have also been associated with the moon and the sun. But in explaining the well-known introductory line of the *Śaṅgīti* literature, viz. *evaṁ mayā śrutam*, etc., the *Sampuṭikā* explains *evaṁ* rather in a different way. It is said there that by 'e' is to be understood the earth who is Karma-mudrā, also known as *Locanā*; she is of the nature of great compassion and great expedience—she is of the form of the whole universe and is known to the whole universe; she resides in the *Nirmāṇa-cakra* in the lotus of the nave. 'Vaṁ' implies water representing the *Dharma-mudrā* or the goddess *Māmakī*; she is of the nature of universal love and concentration and resides in the *Dharma-cakra* in the heart in a lotus of eight petals.³ We find this interpretation also in the *Hevajra-Pañjikā* of Kṛṣṇācārya.⁴ But in offering another

¹ *evamkāra je bujjhā te bujjhā saala asesa* |—Dohā 21

Cf. the comm. *evamkāra iti śūnyatā-karuṇābhinnarūpiṇi mahāmudrā utham evamkāram* |

² *ekāras tu bhavet(t) mātā vakāras tu pitā-smṛtaḥ* |
bindus tatra bhaved yogah sa yogah paramā-ksarah ||
ekāras tu bhavet prajñā vakārah suratā-dhīpaḥ ||
bindus cā'nāhataṁ jñānam taj jātāny akṣarāni ca ||

—Devendra-pariprechā-tantra collected in the *Subhāsita-samgraha*. (Bendall's Edition), p. 76.

³ Again *ma* (of *mayā*) is fire, *Mahā-mudrā*, *Pāṇḍarā* in the *Sambhoga-cakra* in the throat; *ya* means air, *Samaya-mudrā*, goddess *Karmakulā* in the *Mahāsukha-cakra*, etc.

Cf. *ekāraṁ pṛthivī jñeyā karma-mudrā tu locanā* |
mahā-kṛpā mahopāyā viśva-rūpā viśva-gocarā |
sthītā nirmāṇa-cakre vai nābhau viśva paṅkaje ||
vaṁ-kāraṁ tu jalam jñeyam dharma-mudrā tu māmakī |
maitrī-pramādi-rūpā tu devī vajra-mukhe sthitā |
dharma-cakre tu hṛdaye aṣṭa-dalāmbuje ||
ma-kāraṁ vahnir uddiṣṭo mahāmudrā tu pāṇḍarā |
muditā-vala-yogena devī padma-kulodbhavā |
sthītā sambhoga-cakre tu kaṇṭhe dvyaṣṭa-dalā-mbuje || .
yā-kāraṁ vāyu-rūpastu sarva-kleṣa-prabhañjakah |
mahā-samaya-mudrā vai devī karma-kulā mukhyā |
upekṣā jñāna-yogena tara samsāra-tāriṇī ||

—*Sampuṭikā*, MS., p. 10(A).

⁴ *ekārah pṛthivī jñeyā karma-mudrā tu locanā* |
catuḥsaṣṭhi-dale nābhau sthitā nirmāṇa-cakrake |
vaṁ-kāraṁ tu jalam jñeyam dharma-mudrā tu māmakī |
samsthītā tu dharma-cakre śuddha-divyaṣṭadalāmbuje |

alternative meaning of the line *evam mayā śrutam*, etc., the *Hevajra-Pañjikā* says that by 'e' is meant the female organ while by 'va' is meant the male organ; by *mayā* is meant the sex-activity and by *śrutam* is implied double nature of the *sādhana* (viz. *saṃvṛta* and *vivṛta*). Then the commentator further explains that the male is of the nature of the seed, while the pleasure is the female—they represent the *Dharma-kāya* and *Sambhoga-kāya* and both of them are combined in the nature of the Lord (*vajra-dhara*). Thus 'e' and 'va' are the two aspects of the Lord; they are also called *saṃvṛta* and *vivṛta* which again correspond to the *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* or *Prajñā* and *Upāya*.¹

It is needless to say that many of these derivations and interpretations are merely arbitrary and they are introduced to demonstrate some purely sectarian view. It is for this reason that in the *Marmakalikā-tantra* and in the *Hevajra-Pañjikā* all the alternative interpretations are called 'Sectarian interpretation' (*saṃpradāya-vyākhyā*). Thus the verse—

caṇḍalī jvalitā nābhau dahati pañca-tathāgatān |
dahati ca locanādinām dagdhe huṃ sravate śaśī ||

—(*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 4(B))

has got as many as five interpretations. In the first interpretation *āli* has been explained as the wind blowing through the left nasal passage and *kālī* as the wind blowing through the right.² Again *caṇḍā* means *Prajñā* as she is very terrible (*caṇḍā*) in destroying

śrutam sahaṃ ityuktam dvidhā-bhedaṇa bheditam |
saṃvṛtam devatā-kāram utpatti-krama-pakṣataḥ |
vivṛti-sva-svarūpaṇ tu niṣpanna-krama-pakṣataḥ |
satya-dvayam saṃvṛtīya buddhānām dharma-deśanā ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*; *Hevajra-Pañjikā*, MS., p. 2(B).

But cf. also:—

ekāreṇa locanā devī vaṃkareṇa māmakī smṛtā |
makāreṇa pāṇḍarā ca yākāreṇa ca taruṇī ||

—*Hevajra-tantra*, MS., p. 4(A)

¹ *ekāram bhagam ityuktam vaṃkāram kuḷīsam smṛtam |*
mayeti cālanam proktam śrutam yat tad dvidhāmatam |
tathā ca vakṣyati |
śukrā-kāro bhaved bhagavān tat-sukham kāmīni smṛtam |
dharma-sambhoga-rūpatvaṇ vajra-dharasya lakṣaṇam ||
tathā ca

saṃvṛtam kumkuma-saṅkāśam vivṛtam sukha-rūpinam |
ity anena hi vākyena śūnyatā-karuṇā-svabhāvam prajñā-pāya-svabhāvam
dharma-sambhoga-kāya-svabhāvam |

—MS., p. 2(A).

² *ālir vāma-nāsā-puta-prabhavo yāyuh | tadaparah kālīh |*

—*Hevajra-Pañjikā*, MS., p. 9(B).

all sorts of afflictions; and *āli* here means *Vajrasattva*.¹ Again *caṇḍā* is *Prajñā* who is *am*; and *āli* is *Vajrasattva* who is *kram*.² Again *caṇḍā* is *Prajñā* which is the left nerve, while *āli* is *Upāya* or the right nerve.³ Again *caṇḍā* is *Prajñā* which is discriminative knowledge about the transcendental nature of origination and the originated; while *āli* is the mind full of universal compassion.⁴ Here in these interpretations it is very easy to notice that *āli* has been explained as the *Upāya* which is contradictory to the interpretation of all the Tantras including the *Hevajra-tantra* (of which the *Hevajra-Pañjikā* is the commentary); *āli* has also been said to be *kram* (while *caṇḍā* is *am*), which is absurd and self-contradictory.

¹ *caṇḍā prajñā kleśo-pakleśa-niskrantane (?) caṇḍa-svabhāvatvāt āliḥ vajrasattvaḥ* |

—*Ibid.*, MS, p. 9(B).

² *caṇḍā prajñā amkārah | āliḥ vajrasattvo kram-kārah* |

—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 10(A).

³ *caṇḍā prajñā vāmā-nāḍī | āli-rūpa upāyo daksina-nāḍī* |

—*Ibid.*, MS, p. 10(A).

⁴ *caṇḍā prajñā utpatty-utpanna-krama-sambundhinām vicārah | āliḥ mahā-karunāmāya-cittam* |

—*Ibid.*, MS., p. 10(B)

POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE ṚG-VEDA (1)

By MISS SAKUNTALA RAO SHĀSTRĪ

Introduction

The life of women in India has been greatly influenced by the two Great Epics—the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. These two books, looked upon as they are as sacred as the law-books, and considered as they are as embodying the kernel of the Vedas, are read vastly by all grades of society, from the highest to the lowest. These are the books commonly read and discussed by the Indian mother, wife and daughter in the closely guarded harem of a king, as well as in the humble cottage of the poor who have the ability to read. Even to the poor who are illiterate, the narratives of both the Epics are not unknown. The characters depicted in these are not only held up as ideals, but are imitated by many an Indian woman; and not only are they engraved on their hearts but they have to a great extent moulded the national character of Indian womanhood. In spite of the ravages of foreign invasions, that swept over Hindustān from age to age, these ideals have been cherished loyally, and the names of Sītā, Sāvitrī, Draupadī, Damayantī, and Gāndhārī and so on, are even today uttered with the deepest veneration by every daughter of the Indian soil. Shrines in commemoration of their virtue have sprung up all over India to which pilgrimages are made. An Indian father or mother cannot think of a higher blessing for his or her daughter than to wish her to be like 'Sāvitrī'. In the annals of India these are the few instances where a woman has been venerated in society, and a high tribute has been paid by men. In later times, they came to be adored for upholding the highest ideal of a devoted wifeness. The whole tragedy of the Rāmāyaṇa is the outcome of the efforts of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa to fulfil the wishes of Sītā. The younger brothers of Rāma, in consequence of the high esteem in which they held her, hardly dared to contradict her, even when conflict arose on important matters. Sītā is described as attending the open councils with her husband. Sāvitrī is the virtuous daughter, universally respected for her piety and goodness, whose devotion and virtue induced the god Yama to nullify the terrible destiny of her husband, as well as to restore the lost eye-sight of her father-in-law and his lost kingdom. Gāndhārī was one of those eminent women, who commanded universal respect owing to her truthfulness, singularity

of devotion to her husband and keen sense of justice. It is said that her sons, though powerful rulers of a large kingdom, sought her blessings before they marched against their enemies, knowing that whatever was uttered by her would come to pass. Her stern sense of justice triumphed over her restless maternal affection and, knowing that her sons were not following the right path, and seeing clearly how they would be destroyed in the war, she wished victory to be on the side of the just. She said: 'यतो धर्मस्ततो जयः' 'Let victory be on the side of the just'.

These characters, priceless as they are, stand outside the pale of Vedic culture. Nor do they represent or reflect the woman as presented in the law. What their origin was, and what influences combined in the formation of the legends concerning them, is a matter for research. Whatever their influence in society, in the range of sacred literature they come second only to the Vedic and Smṛti literature. 'Śruti' or 'divine revelation', as represented by the Vedas, is considered to be the original and highest source of Dharma. These are increased by the addition of the Brāhmaṇas, which explain the complicated Vedic rituals.

The next important source of Dharma is 'Smṛti', that which is remembered, and has been handed down by the Ṛshis. This huge mass of literature is grouped into Śrauta Sūtras, Gr̥hya Sūtras and the Dharma Sūtras. The Śrauta deals mainly with Vedic sacrifices; the Gr̥hya Sūtra deals with laws relating particularly to the home, and the Dharma Sūtras lay down laws by which society is governed, such as the Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Vaśiṣṭha, Gobhila and others. Then come the Dharma Śāstras or metrical versions based on the previously existing Dharma Sūtras; to this class belong the Code of Manu, the Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Parāśara and other fragmentary Dharma Śāstras and secondary Smṛtis of later period. The next authoritative group of literature consists of commentaries. The principal of these are Medhātithi and Kullūkabhaṭṭa on Manu, Vijñāneśvara's commentary on Yājñavalkya, commentaries on the Parāśara Smṛti, and so forth. These commentaries have given rise to the various schools of law, the Mītakṣharā, Dāyabhāga, Maithilā and others.

The works already mentioned are part of the Vedic cult; how far the later ones differed from their originals, and how far they have been influenced by cults other than the Vedic, is a matter for investigation. As they stand, however, they present a gloomy picture of womanhood. A woman's status in home and society changed from age to age. The earliest and original records present woman as possessing similar status to that of man in social life and

religious ceremonies. Many were given free scope for the exhibition and evolution of their natural gifts: certain names have been immortalized by the hymn ascribed to them and the discussions they participated in concerning the highest spiritual experiences of life. They have been given a place among the R̥shis or Saints. With the development and complexity of ritual the face of things changed, and the degradation of womanhood is evident. This is clearly reflected in the Brāhmaṇas and the earlier law-books. It reaches its climax in Manu, where the angle of vision is completely changed: as woman's place in the religious field became unnecessary, she was regarded merely as an object of pleasure, and the main aim of her existence became the production of children. The later Codes of Law, especially, curbed to no small extent the liberty of woman in home and society. With the help of these laws, early marriages came to be sanctioned; widow-marriage, nay, marriage of even child widows, was strongly disapproved, and woman was denied any kind of higher education and culture. The status of women of even the highest class came to be regarded as equal to that of a man of the lowest, and the right of reading the sacred scriptures was denied to a woman. She had very little voice in home and none in society. Even in matters on which the sorrow and happiness of her whole life hinged she had not the liberty to utter a word. Her virtue was weighed by the degree of her obedience to her husband, and she was not expected to have any religious duties to perform except the serving of her husband as her god. She had, moreover, no right to partake in any religious rites or to utter texts from the Vedas except at the time of marriage. Severe punishments were enjoined, if she failed in her duty to her lord; the king could cause her to be devoured by dogs in a place 'frequented by many'. Even the conception of the composition of a woman is degrading. It is said that the Creator, in making her, placed all evil qualities, such as impure desires, wrath, dishonesty, malice and bad conduct (M. IX, 17 and 15) in her. Even when women are commanded by the sacred scriptures to be honoured, the motive is a selfish one. It is for the wealth and prosperity of the home that they are ordered to be honoured (Manu III, 59). The highest commendation that is spoken of a woman is in the following, which is like an oasis in the desert :—

- 'Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rites yield rewards.'
- 'Where the female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes, but that family where they are not unhappy ever prospers.' (Manu III, 56 and 57.)

Why this degradation of womanhood came and what influences acted in bringing it about, is a matter for investigation. We find

that in religious movements outside the limit of this Vedic cult the position of woman is different. The Tāntric literature places a woman on a par with man. Tantras are of two kinds: Āgama and Nigama. The latter represents Devī as guru, and the worship of woman, as Śakti, is predominant throughout the literature. It has developed round the gods Śiva and Pārvatī. Its origin has been traced to a time earlier than Nāgārjuna, and some even claim it to be contemporary with the Upanishads. In the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa, a Tāntric version of the Epic, Jānakī is described as primeval, eternal, and she is the visible Prakṛti itself. Here the thousand-headed Rāvaṇa was killed by Sītā, and Rāma worships his wife thus:—

‘Blessed be my birth today and successful is my devotion
 . . . Thou hast favoured me by appearing to my view . . .
 Thou art the highest good of Jīva.’

Women could be *gurus* and could initiate even men, and it is said that ‘by the worship of such a woman both Sādhana, Śakti and spiritual knowledge are attained’.

The Buddhist and Jaina literature give a different picture of woman. We meet here two extremes: the glorious stage when women were admitted into the order of nuns, and in this respect were considered equal to men, and the other, in which they were regarded as objects of temptation and were impeached with lack of trustworthiness. It has to be noted in this connection, that the age was one of asceticism, and hence, though wider scope for the display of woman’s activities was given, it was restrained by rigorous laws.

The demand for a higher standard of morality set up by the Buddha and his disciples influenced to a considerable extent the entire trend of the Hindu cult. We find its influence clearly reflected in the law-books. Those which were pre-Buddhistic gave greater liberty to women, but the freedom became gradually restricted in the later law-books.

One of the most important beliefs that influenced the Hindu cult and degraded the position of a woman from age to age was the eschatological belief regarding the life after death.

The belief that the soul of a dead person acquired its strength and nourishment through the food offered at the funeral oblation, and that it obtained the necessary ethereal body through those offerings for its existence in the next world, gave importance to the ceremonial of funeral oblations. It was believed that, in default of it, the soul would go to hell. Hence the necessity for a son to perform the required rites and to offer food for the benefit of the

souls in the next world became a thing of utmost importance. A son was desired as an investment for future life. With the introduction of this belief into the Hindu cult thoughts were turned towards the birth of a son, and woman became regarded solely for the purpose of the production of sons.

So thoroughly and systematically has this belief influenced the Hindu religion, that even in the present time we hear of horrible crimes being committed in consequence of it.

In a recent publication regarding womanhood a medical missionary describes how she came across a patient (woman), who suddenly became blind, and, on inquiring into the cause learnt of the ghastly atrocity of her husband, who had blinded her with a knitting needle, as she could not give birth to a son! (India's Womanhood, by Christine I. Tintling, Ch. II, published 1935.)

It is to be noted that, in the earliest period, the Hindu cult was so thoroughly influenced by it, that all ceremonials were centred round the birth of sons and the aim and existence of a woman was mainly for this one purpose. Virtue was discarded and sons of every description were admitted into society. Nowhere in the earlier law-books can we meet with the ascetic standard that required a woman to lead a life of chastity, such as is enjoined in later law-books and commentaries. Whatever means were necessary for getting a son were allowed by the law-givers. Even when such foreign customs as the seclusion of women and the burning of widows were adopted into Hindu society and were sanctioned by the law-givers, the underlying reason was this eschatological belief. In the case of introducing close seclusion of women the underlying notion was that, as it was believed that the son belongs to his father in the next world, and, consequently, the funeral oblations offered by one who is not a natural son will not reach him in the next world, a close guard was put on them. In sanctioning the custom that required a wife to burn herself with the body of her dead husband the law-givers sanctioned it on the ground that the virtue reaped by so doing would enable the wife to drag her husband's soul even from Hell, and entitle him to live in Heaven.

It may now be asked whence came this belief that has influenced Hindu cult so thoroughly? The only hymn that describes and gives the rite of the disposal of the dead in the R̥g-Veda ordains burial. From which we can conclude that cremation, even if it was known to them (the Aryans of the R̥g-Vedic hymns) was not the usually observed custom. The next historically important Veda—the Atharva-Veda—while adopting the entire ritual of the R̥g-Veda, gives other modes of disposal of the dead, among which is the custom of cremation. It also describes how the manes came and ate the

funeral oblations offered in Agni. The Atharva-Veda, which represents an older order of civilization and which is definitely a scripture of the Aryans, since otherwise it could not possibly have exercised such an enormous influence on Vedic society and especially the domestic ceremonies, introduces a new element that has thoroughly moulded the life of a man and determined later the destiny of an Indian woman. The A.V. describes the ceremony for the benefit of the souls of the dead, in which funeral oblations are given to the fire in the belief that the manes would come to partake of it, in order to gain substance in their next life.

Among the cults outside the purely Vedic, we find in the Iranian scriptures a parallel ceremony prescribed for the souls of the dead and the same eschatology underlying it. It is probable that the Atharva-Veda is the scripture of an Aryan branch that came under the Iranian influence before they came to settle in India, carrying with them some of their superstitions, witchcraft and other degraded beliefs. Ideas strikingly parallel and similar to those of the Iranian scriptures are to be found in the Atharva-Veda. This supposition is further strengthened by the long argument put forth in the *Nyāyamanjarī*, in which the author, with the support of the opinions of various Brāhmaṇical schools, tries to prove the priority of the Atharva-Veda to the other Vedas. His argument shows that there were certain sections of Brāhmaṇical schools that regarded the Atharva-Veda as not only prior to the Rg-Veda, but more authoritative than the other Vedas, even in sacerdotal matters, whereas others deprecated it, refusing to give it a place in the *Trayī* or the three Canonical Vedas. The Atharva-Veda, on the other hand, praises things which the Rg-Veda deprecates. These reflect the antipathy and the unwillingness of the Rg-Vedic Aryans to assimilate into their cult the new elements brought in by the Atharva-Veda and its people.

It cannot be denied that the Atharva-Veda brought with it large Iranian influence, which gradually gained its way into the Vedic cult and thoroughly moulded the destinies of men and women accordingly from age to age.

The influence of the Atharva-Veda in the domestic rituals can be seen in the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa, which embodies the Gṛhya rituals and thus can be described as a forerunner of the Gṛhya Śūtras.

The Gṛhya rituals are developed forms of ceremonies round certain verses of the Mantra-Brāhmaṇa.¹ The magic and symbolism

¹ Comprising of various rituals to be performed at various stages of domestic life, viz., marriage, initiation, the birth of a child, the naming of a child, the tonsure of the head, the killing of animals at a sacrifice, the tending of cattle, the safeguard of the family from the attack of reptiles, worms, etc.

with which the Gr̥hya rituals are combined are the outcome of the influence of the Ātharva-Veda. The Mantra-Brāhmaṇa institutes a system of marriage meant for adult people only. This is evident from the words used by it in different connections. It sets up an ideal based on the fellowship of a wife in the religious and domestic spheres. This demand for unanimity and intimate relationship of the wife in religious matters has been discarded by the Gr̥hya rituals and in some of them transferred from the wife to the student. The gradual change in the marriage vows taken before the fire reflects the change in the position of the wife in society.

It is to be noted that in this period the centre of Vedic culture and learning moved to the south, and we find all the prominent law-givers flourishing there. The rituals of the north differed from those of the south, but we find none of the early Gr̥hya Sūtras instituting a ritual of marriage suitable for children. They are clearly drafted for the marriage of adults.

The southern cult flourished under the fostering care of powerful Hindu dynasties; and we find all the prominent law-givers, beginning with Baudhāyana, coming from the south. In the great age of the Commentaries, which followed the creative period of the law-codes, the most authoritative books belonged to the south and these developed later into the different schools of law.

CHAPTER I

THE R̥G-VEDA

The history of Ancient India begins properly with the period during which the R̥g-Veda was composed. This work, even today, is looked upon by the priesthood of India with such awe and reverence, that it is regarded as infallible, and every word of it is believed to be an eternal revelation. The hymns of this book are mostly devoted to the adoration of the phenomena of nature personified as gods and goddesses, and came to be used in course of time by the priesthood of Ancient India for sacerdotal purposes. But a student of Sanskrit literature will discover in the R̥g-Veda a great literary monument of that hoary antiquity which differs so widely from the present age of civilization. In the course of the adoration of the deities and the description of their superhuman powers, the thoughts, the aspirations, and the ethical standard of the nation are reflected. In fact, the pulse of the national life can be felt in the poems. The materials for the study of the life and position of women in each of their particular departments are very scanty; hence any observation on them is, in most cases, bound to be meagre and based more

on indirect evidence in the way of possible inferences from literary allusions, than on direct and systematic evidence. The procedure, therefore, that can be followed with best advantage is to survey the subject from various points of view, regarding which some conclusions may profitably be drawn. It cannot be expected that such an inquiry would satisfy our normal curiosity regarding the various details of the different departments of a woman's life in Vedic times. Considering the dearth of materials, such a limitation cannot be avoided.

In hymn VIII. 31¹ where a couple are described as washing and pressing the *soma* juice, and plucking the sacred grass for sacrifices we get a glimpse of the home of the Rg-Vedic times. Here the couple lived in harmony, helping each other in their daily routine of work. The hymn embodying the nuptial ceremony, as well as the references to the wifehood of a woman, reveal a home where the wife shares the burdens of her husband, not only in home life, but in religious ceremonies. The tenth Maṇḍala, however, contains hymns embodying the incantations used by the co-wives

¹ या दस्यन्ती समनसा सुनत आ च धावतः ।

देवांसो नित्ययागिरा ॥—VIII. 31. 5

'Gods, may the husband and wife, who with one mind offer oblations and purify them, and (propitiate you) with the Soma ever mixed with milk'

प्रति प्राशुष्यो रतः सम्यचा वर्द्धिरागिरा ।

न ता वाजेष वायतः ॥—VIII. 31. 6.

'Constantly associated, may they appropriate (sacrificial) food; may they be able to offer sacrifices, may they never be wanting in food (given by the gods).'

अस्य प्रजावन्तो गृहेऽस्यन्तो दिवेदिवे ।

ददा धेनुमतो दुहे ॥—VIII. 31. 4.

'In his house perpetual abundance, accompanied by progeny (is present) and milch kine are milked day by day'

पुत्रिणा ता कुमारिणा विश्वमायुष्यं भुतः ।

अभा क्षिरं पशसा ॥—VIII. 31. 8.

'Blessed with youthful and adolescent offspring, and both having their persons richly ornamented they pass (happily) their whole life.'

वैतिहो वा क्षतदंष्ट्र दम्यन्तामृतायक ।

सद्यधो रोममं हनो देवेषु क्षणतो दुवः ॥—VIII. 31. 8

'Offspring, acceptable sacrifices, obtaining the wealth they solicit, presenting gratifying (oblations to the gods) for the sake of immortality enjoying personal union, they (wife and husband) worship the gods.'

which reflect a discordant home, but it cannot be said with certainty that these hymns really belonged to the R̥g-Vedic times. If, on the other hand, they did belong to it, they present an element to which no reference is to be found in any other Maṇḍala of the R̥g-Veda. From this it may be presumed that polygamy was not in vogue in the early Vedic days, at least in that circle, of which the culture is depicted in the R̥g-Veda.

The position of a woman in society can be judged by the way in which the birth of a girl is welcomed in a home. Was she considered inauspicious? The hymns of the R̥g-Veda say nothing to that effect, but we find prayers for the birth of a son, though we cannot come across any reference deprecating the birth of a daughter as in A.V., 7. 5, so it can be presumed that the position of a girl was not very low, though it cannot be said that she was regarded as equal to a boy.

We find in the R̥g-Veda a number of names to denote a girl in her different stages of life and in her different positions in the family. A discussion as to the exact meaning of these words is important, as it may give a clearer idea of the various circumstances of a daughter in home and in society. Of these some have come down to our times with their denotation and connotation slightly changed. One or two of these, which were in vogue in the earliest stages of the Aryan life but were losing ground before the Aryans settled in India, are to be found in the R̥g-Veda, but became obsolete in later literature. The different shades of meaning can be found by referring to the context. Of these various names the words *Kanyā* and *Dukhitā* have come down to our times: they are to be found in the vernacular literature of the post-Vedic age. *Kanyā* came to acquire such a wide meaning as to cover the sense of *Dukhitā*. The Smṛtis have fixed the age of a *Kanyā* to be ten. *Dukhitā* is a 'daughter' in a house, but its use is not so popular as *Kanyā* irrespective of age. In the R̥g-Veda its meaning is clear in one of the hymns written in adoration of Ushā, where the glory of aurora, the gradual development of the play of light and shade in the eastern horizon, is compared to a *Kanyā*. (I. 123. 10.)

कन्येव तन्वा श्राशदानां एषि देवि देवमियच्छमाणां ।¹

'Like a maid (*Kanyā*) developing in body, O Goddess, thou goest to the god who wishes to give what thou longest for.'

¹ The gloss of Sāyaṇāchārya runs thus:—

तन्वा शरीरेष श्राशदानां श्राशद्यमाना स्पृष्टतां प्राप्नुवती । श्राशदानः श्राशद्यमानः । (निः ९. १९)
इति शास्त्रः । कन्येव कमनीया कन्येव । कन्या कमनीया भवति....क्षेयं नेतयेति वा । (निः ४. १४)
इति शास्त्रः ।

The word *Kanīnakā*¹ is rather interesting: the difference in the interpretation of the word shows the various stages through which it has passed. It is one of those rare words of the Rg-Veda which became obsolete in later literature, and its obscurity in meaning gave rise to various interpretations. Yāska, the earliest authority, records the meaning as 'a lovely girl', whereas Sāyaṇa explains it as 'a lovely doll'; Wilson renders it as 'two puppets', and Roth thinks it means 'a maiden' (St. Petersburg Dictionary). In later literature, however, the word came to designate the pupil of the eye, and it is perhaps from the affection felt for a girl that it acquired this meaning.

Of all these epithets for girls, the word *Duhitā*³ seems to have been more in use in the R.V., as it appears in most of the contexts that refer to a daughter.

There are two passages in the R̥g-Veda (I. 124. 7; III. 31. 1)⁴ which refer to the case where a daughter is the only child of the family. In later literature we find such a daughter designated as *Putrikā*.⁵ Yāska quotes one of these to explain the legal position of the only daughter. According to his interpretation (I. 5), it means that a brotherless maiden (even after she has been given

Yāska explains thus: कनौनके कन्यके । कन्या कमनौया भवति ।

² A.V., 5. 3; XIV. 2. 52. M.B., I. 2. 5. Ap.M.B., I. 4. 4a.

³ R.V., VIII. 101. 15; X. 17. 1; 40. 5; 61. 5. 7; A.V., II. 14. 2; VI. 100. 3; VII. 12. 1; X. 1. 25; Śatapatha Brāhmana, I, 7. 4. 1; 8. 1. 8, etc.

⁴ अद्भुतेव पंस एति प्रतौषी गर्तासगिव सनये धनानां ।—R.V., I. 124. 7.

and असद्वर्त्तिर्द्वितुर्मन्त्रयं गद्विद्वां कृतस्य दीधिति सपर्ययम् ।

पिता यन् दृष्टितुः सेकन्मृजन्तसमम्ये न मनसा दधन्वे ॥—R.V., III. 31. 1.

⁵ Vedic Index, I. 528, 537; II. 496. Weber, Indische Studien, 5, 343; Geldner, Vedische Studien, 3-34; Oldenberg, Rg-Veda Noten, I, 239-241; Roth, Nirukta Erläuterungen, 27; Jolly, Recht und Sitte, 72, 73; Brhaddevatā, IV. 110, 111; Keith, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1910, 924, 925; Jolly, Die Adoption in Indien, 32.

away in marriage) can perform the funeral rites of her father. Not only does this give her the right to inherit the property, but shows that she is legally recognized as equal to a son. This view must have been current at the time of Yāska, since the author included it in his book. The commentator Durgāchārya further elucidates it by saying that, even after her marriage, she can retain this right. It is perhaps because of this that an only daughter was not eligible for marriage. The later law-givers prohibited strictly such a union. The fourteenth century thought is reflected in Sāyana's interpretation of the passage. He says that 'a maiden who has no brother seeks for clothes and ornaments from relatives belonging to her father's family. If she has a brother, he looks to her needs. It is only in his absence that she seeks the help of her uncles, etc.' He goes further and proposes another interpretation. If her own brother is living, he performs the funeral rites of their father, but in his absence she goes to the place of her paternal relatives to perform the funeral rites herself.

The interpretation which the western scholars give is quite different. The authors of the Vedic Index, as well as some other western scholars, have drawn the inference, probably based on the ordinary sense of the term 'Puisah', that brotherless maidens in Vedic times were forced to lead an immoral life. Professor Geldner, however, upholds the interpretation of Yāska and understands the *Abhrātār* in the special sense of *Putrikā* (R̥g-Veda, Kommentar, 2, 48, 49, on R.V., III. 31. 1).

The position of a girl in society, the measure of freedom she enjoyed, is further evident from the description that we can gather of *Samana*¹ from various hymns of the R̥g-Veda. What was this *Samana*? The word is often to be met with in the R̥g-Veda, but different scholars have rendered it differently. Sāyanaachārya renders and explains the word according to the context, and in some cases gives a meaning to fit in with the sacrificial ceremony. So his meaning of the word is not definite. Among the western scholars, Pischel² thinks it to be a popular festival or social gathering in which men and women took part.³ Poets thronged there to acquire

¹ Vedic Index, I, 481, I 429, Roth in St Petersburg Dictionary renders it as a battle or festival: R.V., VI. 75. 3-5; IX. 96. 9; X. 143. 4; R.V., II. 16. 7; VI. 60. 2; VII. 2. 5; VIII. 12. 9; IX. 97. 47; X. 55. 5; 86. 10; A.V., VI. 92. 2; II. 36. 1; Vājasaneyā Samhitā, IX. 9.

² Vedische Studien, 2, 314.

³ R.V., I. 124. 8; IV. 58. 8; VI. 75. 4; VII. 25; X. 86. 10; 168. 2; R.V., II. 16. 7; IX. 97. 47. Cf. Geldner, Vedische Studien, 2, 38; R.V., VI. 75. 3, 5; IX. 96. 9; A.V., VI. 92. 2; R.V., I. 48. 6; X. 69. 11; VII. 2. 5; R.V., IV. 58. 8; A.V., II. 36. 1. Cf. Geldner, R̥g-Veda, Glossar, 190.

fame, bowmen to exhibit their skill at archery, horses to run races, women young or grown-up to seek their partners in life, and courtesans to profit by the occasion. The festivity seems to have begun in the evening and went on until the morning or as long as the conflagration, caused by the ceremonial fires, lasted. Roth, however, takes it to be either 'a battle' or 'a festival'. Griffith has rendered the word as 'a gathering'. Setting aside all these interpretations of the word, if we read the passages where the word appears, however difficult the language may be, the firsthand impression suggests a festival rather than anything else.

Nowhere in the Rg-Veda can be found a detailed description of this Samana, but similes drawn from it, and used in the ceremony of the praise to the gods, serve as glimpses from which we can gather a fuller picture of this gathering. From the collection of such pieces strewn here and there we infer that Samana was a festival of the Rg-Vedic people, specially meant for recreation and not for any religious purpose. People of every station of life, rich and poor, young and old, looked forward eagerly to this function, which gave them an opportunity of meeting old friends, and knowing people of all sorts and conditions. Women, young and grown-up, are described as decorating themselves to take part in it. Young women, especially unmarried girls, are described as utilizing this opportunity of meeting and conversing with strangers, which reminds us of the Greek festivals.

साध्यो वि दुरो देवयतोऽग्निश्च ययुर्देवताता ।

पूषीं शिशुं न मातरा रिहाणे समयुवो न समनेव्यञ्जन् ॥—VII. 2. 5.

In this verse the word '*Agru*' means 'a virgin'.

'With holy thoughts, the pious have thrown open doors fain for chariots in the gods' assembly.'

'Like two full mother-cows, who lick their younglings, like maidens for the gathering they adorn them.'

सं प्रेरते अमु वातस्य विष्टा एनं गच्छन्ति समनं न योषाः ।—X. 168. 2.

'Along the traces of the wind they hurry, they come to him as dames to a Samana.'

In the above the word '*Yoshāh*', which stands for a woman, also means a girl, a maiden, a young woman and a wife, according to Monier Williams. It is therefore evident that the festival was attended by women, young and old. Pischel thinks

that the following refer to the poets who attended the assembly to win fame by the display of their poetical faculties.^{1, 2}

In the latter, the word *Samana* has been explained by Sāyaṇa too, as a meeting. But Pischel's interpretation cannot be drawn directly from it. With what purpose does the *Hotā* or priest go to the assembly? This is not a meeting held for a purely religious purpose, so his services, strictly speaking, as a priest, are not required there. We may, therefore, infer that his going there is to display poetical skill and win fame.

From the references to the various kinds of activities displayed at a *Samana* the meeting seems generally to have been held in a large open space. In a corner devoted to feats of archery bowmen displayed their ability and won prizes. Pischel sees such a meaning in R̥g-Veda, VI. 75. 3. Yāska here takes the word to mean *Sam-grāma*; Sāyaṇa follows him. This change in the meaning must have been developed in the post-R̥g-Vedic period, probably from the feats of archery exhibited in the festival assembly.

Another corner of this great gathering was reserved for horse-races, while the courtesans took their shelter in a different part of this extended area.³

Wilson takes *Samana* to mean 'a battle'. Sāyaṇa also understands 'a battle' here, by 'Samana'. Verses, R.V., VII. 2. 5; VI. 75. 4 and IV. 58. 8 refer to courtesans and the authors of the Vedic Index assert: 'We see in the above a picture of maidenhood akin to that of Greece and a festival parallel to those of Greece, where young girls were allowed to mix freely with strangers.'

¹ II. 16. 7:

प्र ते मावं न समने वचस्युवं ब्रह्मणा यामि सवनेषु दाष्टयिः ।

कुर्विन्नो अस्म्य वचसो निवोधिषदिन्द्रमुस्य न वसुनः सिषामहे ॥

'I approach thee in thy sacred rites, bold with prayer, thee-like a saving ship, thee shouting in the war. May Indra listen to our words attentively; we will pour out libations to Indra, who is as a spring of wealth'—Wilson.

² IX. 97. 47.

एष प्रलेन वयसा पुनामक्षिरो वर्षांसि दुहितुर्दधानः ।

वसानः शर्म अवक्षयमसु क्षीतेषु यामि समनेषु रेभन् ॥

'Purified with ancient vital vigour, enveloping all his daughter's forms and figures, finding his threefold refuge in the waters, he goes to the assemblies calling aloud like a priest.'

³ सचक्षधारः शतं तान् दम्भर्वाजी न सन्निः समना जिगति ॥—IX. 96. 9

'The thousand streamed and hundred-powered Indra goes to the assembly like a strong car-horse'

At the centre of this area, a place seems to have been reserved, where a fire was burnt, around which all people met together. This indicates the time of the festival. It was held in the winter season, so that a fire was necessary, as in all cold climates, to warm the people. Pischel thinks that the meeting was generally held at night, as he thinks that the fire is described as being alight until morning, when the celebrators went to look after their own business. But the verse I. 48. 6, where the goddess Ushā is described as 'वि या सृजति समनं the creator of Samana', seems to imply that the festival began early in the morning, just at the break of day. Sāyaṇāchārya explains this passage by giving a far-fetched meaning to 'Samana'; he explains it as 'समीचीनं चेष्टावंतं पुरुषं'. The author must have given this meaning to bring out a consistent sense of the verse; but it cannot be applied here. The western scholars have all followed Sāyaṇa in translating the verse. But it can more correctly be taken to mean 'one who creates or sends forth Samana'.

This custom seems to have been prevalent in the earliest days of the Rg-Vedic period, and must have continued for some time after their settlement in India, for a passage in the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rg-Veda describes the custom as being an ancient one, and although the festival continued to exist, its scope was restricted, and women were not then allowed to join in it freely.

संहोत्रं स पुरा नारी समनं वाव गच्छति ।¹—X. 86. 10.

The explanation of Sāyaṇa is a far-fetched one: the verse, as it stands, is clear and simple, and indicates that women went to Samana in olden days. By the time this verse was composed, the ceremony was dying out, and only a reminiscence of it remained in the minds of the people.

The interpretation of Sāyaṇa runs thus:—

नारी स्यूतस्य सत्यस्य वेधा विधात्री वीरिणी पुत्रवतीन्द्रस्य भार्येन्द्राणी संहोत्रं स समीचीनं यज्ञं खलु समनं वा संयामं ।.....अव प्रति पुरा गच्छति ।

The hymn in which this verse appears describes the deeds of Indra and Indrāṇī. Indra of the Rg-Veda is a personified phenomenon of nature, and as such he had no wife. In the oldest Maṇḍalas, the name 'Indrāṇī' does not appear. She is the creation of a much

¹ 'From olden times, the matron goes to feast and general sacrifice.'—Griffith. But 'गच्छति स' refers to rather to a thing of the remote past than the present, hence the meaning will be 'used to go' than 'goes'. The word पुरा is indicative of the fact that the custom became an old one by the time this hymn was composed.

later age than that of the R̥g-Vedic one, when the hierarchy of gods was formed, in which Indra became the king of Heaven, and had a partner in life, Indrāṇī, the Queen of Heaven. So this hymn certainly belongs to a later age.

A faint picture of a maiden's life is reflected in the characterization of Ushā, the goddess of dawn, who has been described in many places as a maiden. In the earliest Maṇḍalas, Ushā is described as a pure and simple phenomenon of nature, sweeping away the darkness of the night. In course of time, however, human feelings were introduced into the picture of Ushā, and Dawn came to be personified as a maiden. So in many places the touches given to the picture of Ushā are directly drawn from the life of a young maiden of Vedic society. She is described as a young maiden marching in the Heavens, not with the hesitation of a shy girl, but radiant in the pride of her beauty (R.V., VI, k. 65. 1.) She is often described as inspiring admiration in the minds of all who looked at her. Sūrya is mentioned as her lover, and he is described as pursuing her, a scene which reminds us of the story of Apollo and Daphne in Greek mythology.

In the description and adoration of this goddess, certain other phases of a maiden's life and society are revealed, for it will be a psychological inconsistency to think that human references were introduced and human touches, such as were in existence under ban of censure, were given to one adored as a goddess. In many places (R.V., I. 115. 2; X. 56. 3; IX. 32. 5) reference to the love of young people is to be met with. The word for a lover here is *Jāra*, which is not used in the sinister sense, which it acquired in later times.¹ It reflects a society, where freedom was given to both sexes previous to marriage (X. 85. 7; I. 11. 17, 18). Marriage in the R̥g-Vedic times, as Macdonell defines it, was 'a union of two persons of full development'. No reference regarding the age or its limitations, such as are found in later works, can be traced in the R̥g-Veda. Neither can it be said that child marriage existed then, as a reference to it can be found only in the Sūtra period. The existence of the word *Amājur* which meant a girl who grew old at her father's house, and the references to the attendance of maidens and young women at the Samana festival, as well as the unmarried female Rishis as Apālā-Ātreyī, suggest that there was no rule that made

¹ 'Jāra "lover" has no sinister sense in the early texts, generally, where the word applies to any lover. But it seems probable that the "Jāra" at the Purushamedha or human sacrifices must be regarded as an illegitimate lover; this also appears in the Bṛhadāranyaka Upanishad, and Indra is styled the lover of Ahalyā, wife of Gautama.'—Vedic Index, Vol. i, 286-87.

matrimony binding on a woman or placed any limitation on the age for marriage. The Vedic Index¹ holds up Ghoshā as the chief example of this condition, and in the two hymns attributed to her, she is depicted as being unmarried and living in her father's house. The Bṛhaddevata states what happened after this. However that may be, there is sufficient evidence in support of the view that there were at least a few cases in which girls remained unmarried in their father's houses up to an advanced age.

Widely different are the views regarding the origin of the institution of marriage. Some hold that monogamy was the original state, and that other forms of marriage have evolved out of it. Others take monogamy as the result of a higher civilization. In the R̥g-Veda we find monogamy prevailing.

Of the various kinds of marriages that came to be developed and classified by the law-givers, the rudiments of two kinds can be traced back to the R̥g-Vedic age. One is the Kshātra or Rākshasa type of marriage, and the other is the Svayamvara. Of both these the evidence is so slight and so infrequent, that it cannot be said with certainty whether they were largely prevalent in society or not. The only instance of the former is the stealing of Purumitra's daughter by Vimada, an account of whose story can be gathered from I. 116. 1; I. 117. 20; and X. 39. 7. Sāyaṇa in his commentary mentions Purumitra as a king; Kāmadyn was a princess, the daughter of King Purumitra. Vimada, who wanted to marry the princess, was unwilling to fight, according to Sāyaṇa. He prayed to the Aśvins, who brought his bride to him. Mention of the fact that he was unwilling to fight shows that, had he wished to take the girl openly from her father's house, a fight would have ensued, which would not have taken place, had the king been in favour of it; so, unobserved by her father, the girl was carried away stealthily from the palace, evidently with her consent.

The second type can be traced from the hymn embodying the marriage ritual.

'Soma was he who desired her hand, but Aśvins were selected as the bridegrooms. Sūryā was given away by Savitā to the lord whom she chose.' This verse by itself does not clearly describe the situation. In I. 16. 7, we find a reference to this incident where Sūryā is said to have ascended the car of the Aśvins after gaining the approval of all the gods. But why she chose the chariot of the Aśvins is explained by Sāyaṇa in his note, which supplies the con-

¹ 'Amājur is an epithet that denotes maidens "who grew old at home", without finding husbands or as they are elsewhere called, "who sit with their father" (Pitr-Sad). A well-known example of such was Ghoshā,—Vedic Index, Vol. I, 30.

necting link between these detached events. As there were many suitors for Sūryā, it was agreed that there would be a race in which the competitors had to run up to the sun, and that Sūryā should be given away to the victor as his bride. In this contest the Aśvins came out successful, and Sūryā got into their car.¹

A reference to this event is found in the wedding hymn. The Aśvins here are described as having a son.²

Some scholars see a sense of *Didhishu* in it, but the word अवष्टणीत merely means the act of 'welcoming and as पितरौ indicates both the parents, it is doubtful if they took the part of a *Didhishu*.

The Aśvins are said to have played the part of *Didhishu* who acted as go-between for the parties, the Vedic Index refers to it in R.V., IV. 58. 9. But this cannot be said to have been the usual course in the case of the Kṣhātra and Svayamvara types of marriage, though the ritual described in the wedding hymn reveals that it was a friend or friends of the bridegroom who went to woo the maiden. The actual word *Didhishu*³ does not appear here (X. 85. 23).⁴

¹ आ वां रथ दुहित्वा सूर्यस्य काशेर्वानिष्ठद्वन्त जयतौ ।

विश्वे देवा अन्वमन्यन्त दृद्धिः समुद्रिया नासत्या सचेये ॥—I. 116. 17.

'O Nāsatyās, the daughter of the sun ascended your car, like a runner to a goal, when you won the race with your swift horses. All the gods agreed to it with their whole heart. O Aśvins, you thus were united with glory.'

² यदश्विना प्रच्छमानावयात त्रिचक्रेण वष्टुं सूर्यायाः ।

विश्वे देवा अनु तदामजानन्पुत्रः पितरावष्टणीत पूषा ॥—X. 85. 14

'When Aśvins, you came in your three-wheeled car soliciting the marriage of Sūryā, then all the gods assented and Pūshan (your) son chose (you as) his parents.'

³ The word *Didhishu* appears in two places, R.V., X. 18. 8 and VI. 55. 5. In both *Didhishu* means 'a husband'. In the former it points more to the brother-in-law who was to be the husband of the widow. So the word does not mean in R.V. a mediator, moreover, we cannot trace the exact word used for a mediator then. The sense of a 'mediator' must have been transferred to '*Didhishu*' in later times. Hillebrandt (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 40, 708) and Lanman (*Sanskrit reader*, 385) consider that the word originally meant only 'wooer' and applied to the king, who, after the queen had lain beside the dead victim in the Purushamedha or human sacrifice, claimed her again. But other scholars do not think it plausible (Whitney—*Translation of the Atharva-Veda*, 848, 849; Keith, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, 946.)

Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra, IV. 2. 18; Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, I, 21; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 7, 35).

⁴ अष्टचरा ऋजवः समु पृथा वेभिः सचायो यन्ति नो वरेयम् ।

समर्यमा सं भगो नो विनीवाहंजाम्यत्यं सुयममस्तु देवाः ॥

'May the paths by which our friends go to woo a maiden be straight and smooth. May Āryaman and Bhaga lead us aright. O Gods, may the union of husband and wife be easily accomplished.'

In the above two kinds of marriage, we do not find any ritual accompanying it, nor do they seem to be the usual methods of marriage. In the wedding hymn we get definite proof of its development into a social institution, where it was concluded in accordance with the rules laid down by society. We find here the growth of a ritual.

It is not certain up to what extent marriage of relations was allowed. The references are meagre on this important point. The two stray instances that throw light on the subject are the dialogue of Yama and Yamī in X. 10, and the myth of Prajāpati in X. 61. 5-7. In the former the marriage between a brother and a sister is censured. The latter is represented as a pure allegory, and these two cases can be taken only as reminiscences of savage customs that were dying out. There is some doubt as to the latter hymn: it does not belong to the Rg-Vedic times, for the conception of the god Brahman as Prajāpati is a later one.

Hymn X. 85 represents the wedding ritual, and it is here that we first come across anything like a ceremony. It consists of 47 stanzas; if some of the verses are transposed, we get a consistent picture of the whole ritual.

From a close study of the rituals we find that marriage took place in the house of the bride. Before the ceremony a prayer to God Viśvāvasu, who is supposed to protect virgins, takes place, and he is begged to leave the bride and transfer his guardianship to her husband (X. 85. 21, 22).

उदीर्घातः पतिवतीं ह्येषा विश्वावसुं नमसा गोभिर्हरीले ।

अन्यामिच्छ पिढषदं यक्तां स ते भागो जनुषा तस्य विद्धि ॥—X. 85. 21.

‘Rise up from hence, for this (damsel) has a husband; I worship Viśvāvasu with reverence and with hymns; seek for another maiden still dwelling in her father’s house, decorated with ornaments; this is thy portion; know this (to be thy portion, take it) from thy birth.’

उदीर्घातो विश्वावसो नमसेलामहेत्वा ।

अन्यामिच्छ प्रफर्थं सं जायां पत्या दृज ॥—X. 85. 22.

‘Rise up from hence, Viśvāvasu; we worship thee with reverence; seek another maiden, one with large thighs; leave the bride with her husband.’

The decorated bride was then presented at the place of ceremony with her friends and attendants. The bridal dress was rich and consisted of three cloths—a covering for the head; the divided skirt,

and a border cloth which had to be given away to the priest Brahman at the end of the ceremony.

‘रैभ्यासौदनुदेयो नाराग्रंसी न्योचनी’—X. 85. 6.

‘At the time of the marriage of Sūryā, Raibhī was her companion; Nārā-śāmsī her attendant.’

आशसनं विशसनमथो अधिविकर्तनं ।

सूर्यायाः पश्य रूपाणि तानि ब्रह्मा तु शुंघति ॥—X. 85. 35.

‘Behold the forms of Sūryā, the Āśasana (border cloth), the Viśasana (head-cloth), the Adhivikartana (divided skirt); of these the Brahman relieves her.’

दृष्टमेतत्कटुकमेतदपाष्टवद्विषवमैतत्तवे ।

सूर्यां यो ब्रह्मा विद्यात् इदाधूयमर्हति ॥ —X. 85. 34.

‘This garment is inflaming; it is pungent; it is like stale soma; it is like poison; it is not fit to eat; the Brahman, who knows Sūryā, verily deserves the bridal (garment).’

Then follows the ceremony. The bridegroom, taking hold of her right hand, utters the following verse, which was like an oath. It is from this that the husband came to be called a *hastagrābha*, one who seizes the hand (X. 18. 8)

एतन्मामि ते सौभगताय हस्तं मया पत्या जरदृष्टिर्यथासः ।

भगो अर्यमा सविता पुरंधिर्मह्यं त्वादुर्गार्हपत्याय देवाः ॥—X. 85. 36.

‘I take thy hand for good fortune, that thou mayst attain old age with me, thy husband; the gods Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitar, Purandhi have given thee to me, that I may be the master of a household.’

There is nothing to indicate from the above that the ceremony took place before the fire; nor can we suppose that the bride has been led round the fire by the husband. That part of the ceremony, found in the Gṛhya rituals or the Atharva-Veda, is absent here. If at all, the existence of a fire can only be inferred from the 38th verse, and the four following written in adoration of Agni.

तुभ्यमग्ने पर्यवहन्सूर्यां वहतुना सह ।

एनः पतिभ्यो जायां दा अग्ने प्रजया सह ॥—X. 85. 38.

‘(The Gandharvas) gave Sūryā to thee, Agni, with her bridal ornaments; do thou, Agni, give (us) husbands our wife back again with male offspring.’

The ceremony ended with a mutual prayer to the gods for the prosperity and fruition of their married life.

आ नः प्रजां जनयतु प्रजापति-राजरसाय समनक्षर्यमा ।—X. 85. 43.

‘May Prajāpati grant us progeny; may Āryaman unite us together until old age.’

समंजंतु विश्वे देवाः समापो हृदयानि नौ ।

सं मातरिश्वा सं धाता समुदेष्टी दधातु नौ ॥—X. 85. 47.

‘May the Universal gods unite both our hearts. May the waters unite them; may Mātariśvan, Dhātṛi and the bountiful unite both our hearts.’

The bride is then transferred formally from the family of her father to that of her husband.

प्र त्वा मुंचामि वरुणस्य पाशाद्येन त्वावध्नात्सविता सुशेवः ।

ऋतस्य योनौ सुकृतस्य लोकेऽरिष्टां त्वा सह पथा दधामि ॥—X. 85. 24.

‘I set thee free from the noose of Varuṇa, wherewith the (most blessed) Savitar had bound thee; I give thee up uninjured with thy husband to the world of virtuous action which is based on truth.’

प्रेतो मुंचामि नामतः सुवद्भाममुत्स्करं ।

यथेयमिन्द्र मौढः सुपुत्रा सुभगासति ॥—X. 85. 25.

‘I set thee free from hence; not from thence; I place thee there firmly bound; grant, Indra, showerer, that this (damsel) may have excellent children and be very fortunate.’

After this the pair are asked to mount the chariot and set on their journey towards the bridegroom’s house. (X. 85. 24, 20.) The guests who have come to witness the marriage ceremony are requested to shower their blessings on the new couple. (X. 85. 44, 45, 46.)

पूषा त्वेतो नयतु हस्तगृह्णान्विना प्र त्वा वदतां रथेन ।

गृहागच्छ गृहपती यथासौ वशिनी त्वं विदधमा वदामि ॥—X. 85. 26.

‘May Pūshān lead thee hence, taking thee by the hand; may the Āsvinś convey thee away in their car; go to the dwelling (of thy husband) as thou art the mistress of the house; thou submissive (to thy husband) givest orders to his household.’

सुकिंशुकं शास्त्रालिं विन्धरूपं हिरण्यवर्णं सुहसं सुचक्रम् ।

आगेह सूर्ये अमृतस्य लोकं स्योमं पथे वदतुं ज्ञातुम् ॥—X. 85. 20.

'O Sūryā, mount this well-shaped, gold-hued, strong-built, light-rolling chariot which is made of *kinśuka* and *sālmālī* tree, the world of immortality make for thy lord a comfortable bridal journey.'

The gifts presented at the time of marriage are sent first.

सूर्याया वदतुः प्रागात्सविता यमवाहजत् ।

अघासु हन्यते गावोऽङ्गन्योः पर्युह्यते ॥—X. 85. 13.

'Sūryā's bridal procession which Savitṛi despatched has advanced; the oxen are whipped along in the Maghā (constellation); she is borne (to her husband's house) in the Arjuni (constellation).

With a prayer to the gods for their protection from robbers and highway thieves, with whom their path was beset, the pair now depart.

मा विदन्परिपंथिनो य आसौदंति दम्पती ।

सुगेभिर्दुर्गमतीतामप दांत्वरातयः ॥—X. 85. 32.

'Let not the robbers, the robbers who approach the husband and wife reach them; may they by easy roads pass the difficulty; may enemies keep aloof.'

A most hearty welcome awaits the bride at her new home. The assembled guests, friends and relatives shower blessings and benedictions on the arrival of the couple. The bride is specially welcomed to reign supreme over the whole household and all the members of the family, the relatives and dependants of the bridegroom.

'Fortunate is this bride, approach, behold her, having given her your congratulations, depart to your several homes.' (X. 85. 33.)

'Abide here together; may you never be separated; live together all your lives, sporting with sons and grandsons, happy in your own home.' (X. 85. 42.)

'(Look upon thy husband) with no angry eye;
Be not hostile to thy lord; be tender to animals;
Be amiable; be very glorious; be the mother of males;
Be devoted to the gods; be the bestower of happiness;
Be the bringer of prosperity to our bipeds and quadrupeds.'

—X. 85. 44.

¹ अधोरचक्षुरपतिष्ठेधि शिवा पश्यथः सुमनाः सुवर्चाः ।

वीरसुहृदयकामा स्त्रियाम् अं नो भव द्विपदे अं चतुष्पदे ॥—X. 85. 44.

² अदुर्महसौ पतिकोकमा विह्वलं नो भव द्विपदे अं चतुष्पदे ॥—X. 85. 43.

'Be a queen to thy father-in-law;
Be a queen to thy mother-in-law;
Be a queen to thy husband's sister;
Be a queen to thy husband's brother.'—X. 85. 46.¹

Thus ends the marriage ceremony. The hymn comprises of 47 stanzas. It appears in the Atharva-Veda in the same form, but much enlarged. The ritual is more complex, being full of incantations. Here, in the earlier part of the hymn, we find the legend of Sūryā in a transformed condition. Soma takes the place of the Áśvins; the contest between the gods is thrust into the background, and the Áśvins appear as the attendants of the bridegroom Soma, whereas in R.V., I. 117, they were the victors who carried away Sūryā after the contest. In the later part we find the nucleus of the wedding ceremony that has been developed elaborately in the Gṛhya Sūtras.

The hymn, as it stands, seems to have passed through many hands, especially of the priests, who have added to the subject-matter according to the needs of the ceremonial. Verses 38-41 are clear examples of such additions. In the later part of the hymn the language is more akin to modern Sanskrit than to the Vedic, showing thereby that they are, in all probability, later interpolations.

Woman as a wife is denoted by the words *Jāyā*,² *Janī* and *Patnī*, each indicating special aspects of wifehood. *Jāyā* has the special sense of a sharer of the husband's affections; *Janī*, the mother of children; and *Patnī*, the partner in the performance of sacrifices. These three words are to be found in the Rg-Veda, and exist side by side; it cannot be said with certainty whether their simultaneous existence indicates the existence of wives in a family whose duties were specified. In later times we know that, especially in a king's household, the eldest of the queens had the right to take part in the sacrifices, whereas others could not. We cannot prove this conclusively, as the evidence for it is meagre. A *Patnī* had decidedly the right to perform sacrifices and give oblations to the fire.

युयुषतः सवयसा तदिहयुः समानमर्थं वितरिचता मिथः ।—I. 131. 3.

¹ सचाञ्ची अशुरे भव, सचाञ्ची अश्वर्वा भव ।

ननादरि सचाञ्ची भव सचाञ्ची अधि देहव ॥—X. 85. 46.

² R.V., I. 105. 2; 124. 7; III. 53. 4; IV. 3. 2; 18. 3; IX. 82. 4; X. 10. 7; 17. 1; 71. 4; A.V., III. 30. 2; VI. 60. 1, etc.

Delbrück, Die Indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen, 411-412. It is used of the wife of a gambler and of the wife of the Brāhmaṇa, R.V., X. 34. 2; 3. 13; and X. 109.

‘The married couples, anxious to satisfy thee and presenting oblations together, celebrate (thy worship), for the sake of (obtaining) herds of cattle.’

यमीं द्वा सवयसा सपर्यतः समाने योना मिथुना समोक्ता ॥—I. 144. 4.

‘He, whom the two, a pair of equal age, dwelling in the same place, and engaged in the same ceremony, worship night and day.’

In the above Sāyaṇa, too, takes *Mithunā* as *Dampatī* in the second verse. In explaining the former he quotes the *Mīmāṃsā* texts, which allow women to join in the sacrifices and to utter the Vedic texts, and compromises between the two extremes by asserting that the prohibition is not meant to exclude a wife from taking part in the sacrifices with her husband, or from joining in prayers which have been taught by him, but to prohibit her independent study of the Vedas and her celebrating the sacrifices independently. The fourteenth century thought is reflected in the view of the commentator.

Besides the above, there are several references which show that the household fire was reared by the husband and wife (VIII. 31. 6), quoted at the beginning of the chapter and II. 39. 2 where ‘दम्पतीव क्रतुविदा’ occurs.

So, on marriage, a woman was not only given a very honourable position in the household, but could offer oblations to the fire in performing sacrifices. She was looked upon as a guardian of all the young and old, where her husband was the eldest son of his father. The charge of the whole household was transferred into her hands, and she was charged to look not only to the physical needs of the members of the family but also to the growth of happiness and wealth of the house. What the ideal of home life was is hard to determine, but the wife seems to be an object of reverence and compassion. In the following we find that even a gambler repents at the sad condition of his wife brought about through his negligence :

‘स्त्रियं वृष्टाय कृतं तातापान्येषां जायां सुकृतं च योनिम् ।’

—X. 34. 11 (Adh. 7, ch. 8; Varga V, 11).

‘The gamester, having observed the happy wife and well-ordered home of others, suffers regret.’

That the husband and wife are regarded as a unit of society is evident from the use of the word *Dampatī* to denote a pair. (R.V., I. 127. 8.)

अजंति मित्रं सुधितं न गोभिर्यद्दम्पती समनसा ह्ययोषि ।

‘They anoint thee, like a welcome friend, with milk and butter, when thou makest husband and wife of one mind.’ (V. 3. 2 or III. 8. 16.)

In the above references the word *Dampatī* is used in the dual sense, and means a couple, which it came to designate in later literature. But there are some instances where the word (*Dampati*) signified the ‘lord of the house’. (V. 22. 4.)

विश्वासां त्वाँ विष्ठां पतिं हवामहे सर्वासां समानं दम्पतिं ।—I. 127. 8.

‘We invoke thee, the protector of all people, the same alike to all, the preserver of the house, to enjoy (the oblation).’

‘जने मित्रो न दम्पती अगतिः’—X. 68. 2.

‘As Mitra (unites his radiance) with the people, so does he unite the husband and wife.’

‘को दम्पती समनसा वियूयोत्’—X. 95. 12.

‘Who shall sever husband and wife who are of one mind?’

‘गर्भे तु नो जनिता दम्पती’—X. 10. 5

‘The progenitor made us two husband and wife, even in the womb.’

In the above it is clear that the word *Dampatī* (Dual number) is used in the sense of ‘husband and wife’, but there are instances where the word signified the lord of the house.

‘तं त्वा सुशिप्र दम्पते’—IV. 1. 14.

‘Handsome-jawed, lord of the dwelling.’

Again,—

‘आ तु सुशिप्र दम्पते रथं तिष्ठा हिरण्यं’—VI. 5. 7.

‘Handsome-jawed (Indra) lord of the house, mount my golden chariot.’

‘कस्य नूनं परीणसो धियो जिग्वसि दम्पते ।’—VIII. 84. 7.

‘Whose many offerings dost thou gladden Agni—thou, who art the lord of the house.’

In the above references the god Agni is addressed as the ‘lord of the house’, and this meaning of the word became obsolete later on. We find it current in the Rg-Vedic literature. Why this change in the meaning of the word occurred—is hard to determine. With the gradual change in the position of woman in society the

former meaning of the word was forgotten, and the epithet is exclusively transferred to Agni, who came to be termed—the Lord of the House.

As to the legal position of the wife, nothing has been clearly said anywhere. In the wedding hymn, we find that the gifts received by the bride at the time of her marriage were taken to her husband's house, and the husband as the legal guardian appropriated these gifts.

From the oath taken by both the bride and bridegroom at the time of the marriage ceremony and from the various references to home life, it is evident that monogamy prevailed generally. But there are a few references in the R.V., which clearly refer to the existence of more than one wife. The Vedic Index (I. 478-9) (I. 112. 19; I. 186. 7; VI. 53. 4; VII. 26. 3; X. 43. 1; 101. 1) refers to some passages in support of this view (I. 71. 1; I. 62. 11; I. 186. 7).

‘पतिं न पत्नी रश्नती रश्नन्तं’—I. 62. 11.

‘As a yearning wife cleaves to the yearning husband.’

‘पतिं न निव्यं जनयः सगोलाः’—I. 71. 1.

‘As wives their husband.’

‘तमौ गिरो जनयो न पत्नीः सुरभिस्तुमं नरां न संत’—I. 186. 7.

‘To him our songs shall yield themselves, like spouses.’

In these the word for a wife occurs in the plural, and hence they can be taken as referring to polygamy. Besides the above there are others which refer not only to polygamy but to the household of kings.

‘जनौरिव पतिरेकः समानो’—VII. 26. 3.

‘As one common husband doth his spouses.’

‘राजेव हि जनिभिः क्षेयेवाव द्युभिरभिविदुष्कविः सन् ।’—VII. 18. 2.

‘Like a king among his wives.’

‘सं. मा न पतत्यभितः सपत्नीरिव पशवः’—I. 105. 8.

‘Like rival wives on every side.’

‘क्षीरेण ज्ञातः कुवयस्य बोधे हते ते स्थावा प्रवणे’—I. 104. 3.

‘Kuvaya's (two) wives have been bathed in milk.’

X. 145 refers to a jealous wife practising a spell over her rival with the help of a plant.

इमां खनान्योषधिं वीरधं बलवत्तमां ।

यया सपत्नीं बाधते यया संविन्दते पतिं ॥

'I dig up this most potent medicinal creeper, by which (a wife) destroys a rival wife, by which she secures to herself her husband.'

उत्तानपर्णे सुभगे देवजूते सहस्रति ।

सपत्नीं मे परा घम पतिं मे केवलं कुरु ॥

'O (plant) with upturned leaves, auspicious, sent by the gods, powerful, remove my rival and make my husband mine alone.'

Thus goes on the poem, ending with the prayer of the lady to vanquish her rival with the help of the plant.

The above are only a few references to polygamy. It is for scholars to judge if these passages are genuine productions of the Rg-Vedic Rshis or insertions of later writers, for the language where these references occur, is more akin to later Sanskrit than to the Vedic. Another significant point to be noted in this connection is the change of 'na' into 'iva' to denote comparison. Hymn X. 145, which embodies not a Vedic ritual, but rather an incantation, is clearly a later production. It is more akin in spirit to the hymns of the Atharva-Veda than to those of the Rg-Veda. However that be, it is clear that polygamy existed not only in the families of kings, but also in ordinary families, though it cannot be said that it was in general vogue.¹

Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, 323) holds that monogamy is the more civilized condition of society and that polygamy was disappearing in the Rg-Vedic period, giving way to monogamy. Weber (*Indische Studien*, 5, 222), however, supports the view of the more recent anthropology, and thinks that polygamy is a secondary stage of civilization. In the Rg-Veda we find references to both, and in a comparison with the later literature we find polygamy gradually developing and firmly establishing itself in society rather than disappearing from it.

Reference to the life of a widow is very few. We get only glimpses of some aspects of the life of a widow. It was not characterized by so many restrictions and austerities as it came to involve later. X. 18. 8 and X. 40. 2 convey the idea that the charge of a widow was taken over by the brother of the deceased, who could

¹ Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 387; Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 64; Von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und cultur*, 430, 431; Delbrück, *Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen*, 537, 540; Hopkins, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 13, 353; Bloomfield, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 48, 561.

marry her with the permission of the elders. This custom must have been in vogue for a long time, at least in R̥g-Vedic India, as it has been recorded in the course of the rituals on the death of a person.

Hillebrandt and Delbrück are of opinion that X. 18. 8 has a reference to Purushamedha ritual; but this is not accepted by others such as Roth and Zimmer. The Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra (IV. 2. 18, etc.) is against the view of Hillebrandt and Delbrück. This contentious passage runs thus¹:—

‘Rise woman, (and go) to the world of living beings. Come, this man near whom thou sleepest is lifeless: thou hast enjoyed this state of being the wife of thy husband, the suitor who took thee by the hand.’ (X. 18. 8.)

Macdonnell’s rendering runs thus:—

‘Come, thou hast now entered upon the wifehood of this thy lord, who takes thy hand and woos thee.’

According to Sāyaṇa, the verse is spoken by the brother of the dead man to the widow. From Macdonnell’s rendering it is quite explicit that the widow has been married to the brother of the deceased; whereas from the other interpretation it seems to be more probable that the widow, who was at the side of the dead man, was taken away by his brother and near kinsman. She was brought home to live with and to take care of her kinsmen and grandsons, according to Sāyaṇa.

Sāyaṇa’s gloss runs thus:—

‘देवरादिकाः’ प्रेतपत्नीमुदीर्घनारीत्यनया भर्तृसकाशादुत्थापयेत् । + + +

‘हे नारि मृतस्य पतिं जीवलोकं जीवानां पुत्रपौत्रादीनां लोकं स्थानं गृहमभिलक्ष्योदीर्घं ।

अस्मात्स्थानादुत्तिष्ठ ।’

‘The brother-in-law and others, addressing the wife of the deceased, raise her up from (the side of her husband) with the verse—

“O woman, get up from here with a view to enter the place of your sons and grandsons, which is now your house. Get up from this place.”’

¹ Hillebrandt—*Zeitschrift der Deutschen, Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 40, 708; Delbrück—*Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen*, 553; Whitney, *Translation of the Atharva-Veda*, 848; Roth, *Seibenzig Lieder*, 151, n; Zimmer, *Altindischen Leben*, 329.

Here there is no question of the younger brother marrying the widowed woman. But X. 40. 2 clearly refers to it. It forms the basis of the system of *Niyoga* of later times.¹

को वा शयुजा विधवे देवरं मर्यं न योषा ह्यगुषे सधस्य आ ॥—X. 40. 2.

‘(Where are you, Ásvins, by night? Where are you by day? Where do you sojourn? Where do you dwell?) Who brings you homeward to the place (of sacrifice) as on her couch a widow (brings) her husband’s brother, as a woman (brings) her husband (to her).’

From the above it can be inferred that the marriage of the widow with the brother of the deceased may not be insisted upon. On the other hand, there was also no restriction placed on the widow to bar such a union. The burning of a widow² does not come here at all, though Professor Kaegi refers to one of the verses as giving the highest authority for it, with a slight change in the verse. The verse referred to by him is X. 18. 7, which runs as follows:—

इमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नीराजनेन सर्पिषा सं विशंतु ।

अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरता आ रोहंतु जनयो योगिमये ॥

‘Let these women, who are not widows, who have good husbands, enter (anointed) with unguent and butter. Let women without tears, without sorrow, and decorated with jewels, first proceed to the house.’

In the above, the alteration that has been suggested by Kaegi to have been made by the priesthood of later times, to derive the highest authority for burning of the widows along with the dead husband, is *agneh* in place of *agre*. But from what precedes and follows the verse, this cannot be maintained. The dead person was, in the first instance, not burnt, but buried. So there is no scope for the use of *Agni* or fire. The verses are as follows:—

¹ Yāska, Nirukta, III, 15; Geldner, Rg-Veda, Kommentar, 160. Weber, Indische Studien, V, 343, n. Hopkins, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 13, 355, 367; Jolly, Recht und Sitte, 71; Muir, Sanskrit Texts, 5, 459; Von Schroeder, Indiens Literatur und Cultur, 429.

² Schrader, Prehistoric Antiquities, 391; Von Schroeder, Indiens Literatur und Cultur, 141; Jolly, Recht und Sitte, 67-69; Weber, Proceedings of the Berlin Academy, 1896, 254; Roth, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, 8, 468; Wilson, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 16, 202; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, 329; Geldner, Rg-Veda, Kommentar, 154.

The Atharva-Veda, XVIII. 3. 1 mentions the burning of widows as an ancient custom. Such a practice seems to have been usual among the warrior class as is evident from the Indo-Germanic records. Herodotus, V, 5 (of the Thracians); IV, 71 (of the Scythians); Procopius, De Bello Gothico, II, 14 (of the Heruli).

'Go to this thy mother-earth, the widespread delightful earth; this virgin (earth is) as soft as wool, to the liberal (worshipper); may she protect thee from the proximity of Nirṛiti.'

उच्छ्वस्य पृथिवि मा नि बाधयाः सूपयानास्मै भव सूपवंचना ।

माता पुत्रं यथा सिन्धाम्बेन भूम ऊर्णहि ॥—X. 18. 11.

'Earth, rise up above him; press him not; yield to him (and) afford him comfort; cover him up, Earth, as a mother covers her child with the skirt of her garment.'

उच्छ्वसमाना पृथिवी स्रु तिरुतु सहस्रं मित उप हि अयंतं ।

ते गृहासो दृत्सुतो भवंतु विन्वाहास्मै शरयः संत्वच ॥—X. 18. 12.

'May the earth, heaped over him, lie lightly; may thousands of particles (of dust) envelope him; may these mansions distil ghee (for him); may they every day be an asylum to him in this world.'

उत्ते सन्नामि पृथिवीं त्वत्परीमं लोमं निदधन्मो अहं रिषं ।

एतां स्रूणां पितरो धारयंतु तेऽत्रा यमः सादना ते मिनोतु ॥—X. 18. 13.

'I heap up the earth around thee, placing (upon thee) this clod of earth; may I not be injured; may the Pitṛis sustain this thy monument; may Yama make thee a dwelling here.'

So the verse referred to by Kaegi, even with the alteration, cannot authorize the burning of widows. It can be utilized for such a purpose only when the verse is separated from its context. Moreover, we find that in the verse that follows, the widow is called away from the side of the dead, before the burial takes place, and hence she is not buried with her husband. The R̥g-Veda does not supply evidence for the practice of either burning or burial of widows with their dead husbands anywhere, but on the contrary considers the widow to be married to the brother of the dead husband.

In the intellectual field¹ the only evidence of culture among women is to be inferred from the fact that some of the hymns are attributed to female R̥ishis. These may be classified as follows:—

- (1) Hymns that are entirely attributed to female R̥ishis.
- (2) Hymns that are partly attributed to female R̥ishis.
- (3) Hymns that are attributed to female R̥ishis, but are doubtful as to the genuineness of authorship.

The first group includes the poems of Viśvavārā and Apālā, composers respectively of V. 28 and VII. 91. Both of them are alluded to as belonging to the Atri family.

¹ Vedic Index, i, 486; ii, 485.

Viśvavārā's hymn is in praise of Agni, Apālā's that of Indra. Of these two, it cannot be said with certainty which is the earlier. The linguistic as well as the internal evidence throws some light on the scene of the latter hymn. It belongs to a region where the Soma plant grew in abundance. The Western scholars all agree that Soma grew on the mountains. But from the account of Suśruta,¹ we find that certain species grew on the banks of the Indus, too.

¹ With reference to the Soma plant Macdonell says in the Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 475: 'The plant grew on the mountains, that of Muñjavant being specially renowned. . . . It has been held to be the *Sarcostemma viminalis* or the *Aselepias acida*. Roth held that the *Sarcostemma acidum* more nearly met the requirements of the case. Watt suggested Afghan grape as the real Soma, and Rice thought a sugarcane might be meant, while Max Müller and Rājendralāl Mitra suggested that the juice was used as an ingredient in a kind of beer, i.e. that the Soma plant was a species of hop. Hillebrandt considers that neither hops nor the grape can explain the references to Soma In the Yajur Veda the plant is purchased ere it is pressed It grew on a mountain and could not be obtained by ordinary people: perhaps some special tribe or prince owned it, like the Kikaṣas (R V., III. 53. 14).' Besides this the Suśrūta-Saṁhitā in chapter 29 of '*Chikitsita Sthāna*' gives a detailed account of Soma. The author gives 24 varieties of this Soma plant: 1. Amśumān; 2. Muñjavān; 3. Chandramān; 4. Rajataprabhā; 5. Durvā-Soma; 6. Kaniyān; 7. Śvetākṣha; 8. Kanakaprabhā; 9. Pratāpavān; 10. Tālavrīnta; 11. Karavīra; 12. Amśavān; 13. Svayam-prabhā; 14. Mahā-soma; 15. Garuḍāhṛta; 16. Gāyatriya; 17. Traiṣṭubha; 18. Pāmkata Jāgata; 19. Śāṅkara; 20. Agnish-toma; 21. Raivata; 22. Tripāda; 23. Gāyatriyukta; and 24. Udupati. The author gives a description of the plant, from which one can distinguish it from the rest. It is a plant containing fifteen leaves. In form it is like a plantain tree. All the leaves do not come out at the same time. One leaf comes out each day beginning from the new-moon day, so that by the full-moon day the tree is full with 15 leaves. From that day to the new-moon one leaf falls off each day, so that by the new-moon day the tree is bare. Further details for distinguishing one species from the other are also given. The root of the Amśumān Soma has the smell of clarified butter. The root of the Muñjavān Soma is like that of the plantain tree and its leaves are like those of a garlic plant. The Chandramā Soma is golden in colour and it is to be found mostly near water. The Garuḍāhṛta and Śvetākṣha Soma is pale in colour and is like the skin of a serpent; it is to be found entwined with the branch of a tree.

The author gives the names of the places where the Soma is to be found. They are the Himālayas, Arvuda, Sahya, Mahendra, Malaya, Śree Parvata, Devagiri, Devasahagiri, Pāripātra, Vindhya Parvata and Devaśuṇḍa Lake. At the foot and among the five mountains that are to the north of the Beas and in the Sindhu river the Soma named Chandramā is to be seen afloat like moss. The Soma called Muñjavant Amśumān also grows near Indus. The Somas called Gāyatriya, Traiṣṭubha and Paṇṭaka and Jāgata Śāṅkara grew in Kāśmīr near the lake called the Small Mānasarovara.

The author at the end of his valuable description says that none but the virtuous could see the plant, from which it seems that the plant had already become very rare. The description is a genuine one. None but an eye-witness can give such a detailed description of the plant and its varieties, and there cannot be any doubt that it was used as a medicine.

The maiden Apālā gathers Soma to use its juice at the time of sacrifice. She picks it up from the bank of the river; so this Soma was that variety which grew near water. Suśrūta Samhitā, too, mentions that variety of Soma used at the sacrifices being found in Kāśmīr. So the scene of our hymn is either Kāśmīr or near that region. The word 'Kanyā', used in this connection, indicates that the author was a maiden. She comes to the brink of a stream, where she finds the Soma plant, which she picks up and takes home to smash and squeeze out the juice to be used at the sacrifice.

कन्याश्वावायती सोममपि सुताविदत् ।

अस्तु भरं त्यज्वीदिन्द्राय सुगवे त्वा ॥—VIII. 91. 1.

'Down to the stream a maiden came and found the Soma by the way; bearing it to her home, she said, "For Indra will I press thee out; for Śakra will I press thee out".'

Sāyaṇa's Commentary indicates that Apālā was going to bathe. The rendering of Sāyaṇa does not give us the sense of a stream but that of ordinary water. It may mean a lake or a stream. Sāyaṇa's meaning more appropriately fits in with the account of the Suśrūta Samhitā, which mentions certain varieties of Soma growing in Kāśmīr, near Mānasarovara. The last verse describes her as a maiden of exceptionally fair complexion. Her name comes at the end of her hymn. Viśvavārā's hymn occurs in the fifth Maṇḍala, which consists of the oldest stock of the Vedic hymns. The word 'Viśvavārā' appears at the beginning of the hymn. It is

Difference of opinion exists as to the date of the Suśrūta-Samhitā. Some of the Western scholars have ascribed to it a date contemporary with that of Śākya Sinha Buddha (Beal's Buddhistic Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 212). In the introduction to Suśrūta-Samhitā, Vol I, Intro, p. v, edited by Kavirāj Kuñjalāl Bhishagratna, the following occurs:—

'It is contended that the age immediately preceding Śākya Muni was a period of decadence in Hindu thought; and the Suśrūta-Samhitā must have been the fruit of a revived intellectual activity which usually follows the advent of a new creed. . . . The age which immediately preceded the age of Buddha was by no means an age of decadence properly speaking; the age which followed the downfall of Buddhism shows on the contrary, signs of true decadence. . . . Suśrūta is mentioned in the Vārtikas of (1) Kātyāyana (4th cent. B.C.), and we have no hesitation in saying that the original Samhitā was written at least two centuries before the birth of Buddha.' We have, on the other hand, a different opinion of the Western scholars in the view of Dr. F. Hessler, who, in the preface to his Latin translation of the book, says: 'non post millesimum annum ante Christum natum constituere. The same author refers again to the date of Suśrūta in his 'Commentarii et Annotationes in Suśrūta Ayurvedam': 'annum circiter millesimum ante Christum natum procedit' (p. 1).

[According to Sir A. Stein the Soma is the wild rhubarb.]

doubtful if the word stands for a proper name or means something else. The Vedic Index (Vol. II, p. 310) describes Viśvavārā as a sacrificer. Prof. Geldner does not think that the word indicates a person. He takes the word as an adjective qualifying 'Gṛitāchi' and thus differs from the traditional belief of holding Viśvavārā as the authoress of the hymn. So far as the internal evidence is concerned, there is, besides, a single reference which may be taken to throw some light as to the author of the hymn. In verse 3, the seer prays for the preservation of the household happiness and the word 'जाम्यत्वं' indicative of matrimonial relations is used in this connection. From this we may imagine the Rishi to be a woman. But this can in no way be taken as strong evidence for ascribing the authorship of the hymn to Viśvavārā.

एति प्राची विश्ववारा नमोभिर्देवा इळाना हविषा दृताची ।—V. 28. 1.

'The ladle, containing all good things, goes eastward, praising the gods with homage and oblations.'

सं जाम्यत्वं सुयममा कृणुष्व श्रयतामभितिष्ठा मग्धांसि ॥—V. 28. 3.

'Make easy to preserve our household lordship, and overcome the might of our enemies.'

The second group in which parts of the hymns are traditionally attributed to female Rishis consists of Lopamudrā, Śaśiyasi, the wife of Taranta said to have been the seers respectively of I. 179. 1 and 2; V. 162. 5-8. The names appear in course of dialogues and parts of the hymns are attributed to them, but no internal evidence is available in support of their authorship.

The third group consists of the hymns attributed to Ghoshā Kākshivatī, Sūryā-Sāvitri, Indrāṇi, Sraddhā-Kāmāyanī, Śachī Paulomī, Sarparājñī, Ūrvaśī (they are X. 39. 40; X. 85; X. 95. 1, 3, 6, 8-10, 12, 14, 17; X. 145; X. 151. 154; X. 159 and X. 189). With the exception of Ghoshā all these hymns are attributed to mythological beings and abstract qualities, who cannot be the authors of these hymns. Whether the real authors are men or women is not known. No internal evidence is available on this point. Further, though these hymns are to be found in the R̥g-Veda, the evidence available shows that they belonged to different periods. A detailed discussion of these hymns, though it may not be profitable for the subject of our survey, will show how far off they are separated from the R̥g-Vedic age. Moreover, some of these hymns have exercised enormous influence on the Hindu literature of later times, sacred and profane. The hymn attributed to Sūryā comprising the marriage ritual, forms the kernel of the Wedding Ceremony of

the later Gr̥hya Sūtras and the legend of Ūrvaśī (appears not only in the Mahābhārata but) has been immortalized by Kālidāsa.

The doubt about Ghoshā's poems consists not only in their genuineness of authorship, but as to whether they really belonged to the R̥g-Vedic times. The story of Ghoshā cannot be traced in the R̥g-Veda. The Bṛihaddevatā (VII. 41-48) states her to be the daughter of King Kakshīvān; the Atharva-Veda, too, mentions his name. The R̥ishi prays to the Aśvins to relieve her of her curse. But what that curse is, she does not mention. The Bṛihaddevatā states the curse to be leprosy, owing to which she was not eligible for marriage.¹ The divine physicians took pity on her and cured her of it, after which she got married to some prince, at the age of sixty.

In the hymns, she is mentioned under her maiden name, and worships Aśvins as divine physicians.

अनस्य पित्रासत्या व्रशस्य चिद्यवामिदाङ्गभिर्वजा वतस्य चित् ॥—X. 39. 3.

'O Nāsatyās, you have been looked upon as the refuge of the mean. You have been called the physician of the weak, the blind and those who are suffering from the torments of diseases.'

The mention of the twin gods as Nāsatyas is very significant, as it throws some light upon the date of the composition of the poem. In the R̥g-Veda the Aśvins neither held an important position nor were regarded as popular deities. In some of the oldest Maṇḍalas they seldom appear. Even where they appear, they have been praised differently in different places. From the various references to them in the R.V., the gods may be traced to their human origin.² The hero became the divinity. They were hailed differently at different stages, as gods of the firmament, the sun and the moon, the heavens and the earth, the lords of Sūryā and the gods of speed. They have distinctly been termed as Bhishajās or physicians in Ghoshā's hymns. Yāska's statement about the Aśvins runs thus:—

¹ Sāyaṇa in his gloss refers to a skin disease, which, according to a later tradition, is considered to be the cause of her remaining unwed. He also refers to her son Suhastya in an obscure verse of the R̥g-Veda (I. 120. 5), a theory disapproved by other scholars. Oldenberg takes it as referring to Ghoshā herself and Pischel (Vedische Studien, I, 4; 2, 92) thinks that the form Ghoshā is not a noun at all but a verb.

Cf. Ludwig, Translation of the R̥g-Veda, 3, 143; Über Methode, bei Interpretation des R̥g-Veda, 43; Muir, Sanskrit Texts, 5, 247; Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 52.

² II. 39; III. 58; IV. 43 and 44; V. 73-78; VII. 67-74; VIII. 5, 8, 9, 10, 26, 35, 62, 74, 75, and 9 of Valākhilya.

“तत् कावन्विनौ द्यावा पृथिव्यावित्येकेऽहोरात्रावित्येके । सूर्याचन्द्रमसावित्येके राजानौ
पृथक्कृतावित्यैतिहासिकाः ।”—Ch. XII, p. 939 of Pt. II of Anandamayee
Series.

‘Who are the Ásvins? Some say they are the earth and the sky; others say they are the day and the night; others again the sun and the moon. The historians (relaters of legends) say they were two pious kings.’

This statement does not mention them as divine physicians. Tradition has not handed down to posterity either the name of the historian (relaters of legends) or the annals referred to by Yāska; but some kind of account certainly existed. It cannot be possible for Yāska to ignore the idea of the divine physicianship of the Ásvins, if it were prevalent at that time, especially when he has enumerated so many different views. Hence the divine physicianship of the Ásvins must be an idea developed later than the time of Yāska, though it occurs in several places in the Rg-Veda as well as in hymn. The internal evidence of the poem (X. 40) ushers in an atmosphere of plains and of a warmer climate. We meet with a description of floods and elephants, which are associated with the plains rather than the mountains. It evidently shows that the Aryan colonization had spread so far as to get a glimpse of the chase of elephants.

एषां ऋगेव वारुणा ऋगय्यवो दोषावस्ताहविषा नि ज्ञयामहे ॥—X. 40. 4.

‘Like persons hunting two wild elephants, we entice you, Ásvins, with oblations night and day.’

The poems attributed to Ghoshā are rich in poetical thought and sentiment.

The second of the doubtful group is X. 85, ascribed to Sūryā-Sāvitṛī, which embodies a detailed account of her marriage. Her name appears with her paternal designation.

It is absurd to suppose that Sūryā has composed a hymn on her own marriage before it took place. The hymn itself reveals that it is described neither by the bride Sūryā nor by the bridegroom, but by a third person. Nowhere do the verses appear as direct utterances of Sūryā and it could not be so as Sūryā was a goddess and hence an imaginary figure. These facts rather show that Sūryā is not the real author of the hymn.¹ Hymn X. 145, ascribed to Indrāṇī, ushers in an Atharva-Vedic atmosphere—that of spells and incantations. Indrāṇī is the wife of Indra, the

¹ The name of the real author is not known. It might possibly be some priest who, on compiling the existing rites of marriage in the form of a Vedic hymn, ascribed it to Sūryā, as she came to be considered a deity in the hymn.

god of heaven, who is different in character from the Indra of the Rġ-Veda—a personified phenomenon of nature. So *Indrāṇī* is the Queen of Heaven of the Puranic times. *Śachī Pulomī* is *Indrāṇī* only under a different designation and belonging perhaps to a different period of Indian mythology. The hymn ascribed to her (X. 159) deals with the exaltation of *Śachī* over her co-wives. Professor Wilson thinks that *Śachī* is neither a goddess nor a woman, but is a metaphorical representation of an action, and that the poem is meant to express the exaltation of the acts of Indra. But it is doubtful how far this can be consistent with the ideas expressed in the body of the poem, as they are more human than allegorical.

समजैषमिमा अहं सपत्नीरभिभूवरी ।

यथाहमस्य वीरस्य विराजानि जनस्य च ॥—X. 159. 6.

‘Triumphant, I conquered these my rivals, so that I might rule this hero and his people.’

X. 154 deals with death, wishing the spirit of the departed to go to the realms of the blessed. The hymn is ascribed to *Yamī*. In X. 10 also *Yamī* appears, but there she is represented as the sister of *Yama*, and they both represent metaphorically the succession of day and night; whereas here *Yamī* is the supreme deity of the nether world. It is only in the tenth Maṇḍala that death first comes in as a topic. This reality, with all its gloominess, is avoided as far as possible. The vast difference in the characterization of *Yamī*, as well as the variation in thought in hymns occurring in the same Maṇḍala can only be due to the lapse of time between the composition of these hymns. They represent different stages of Indian thought. Hymn X. 189 is ascribed to *Sarparājñī* or the queen of the serpents. In Indian mythology she is also known under another designation—*Kadru*. She was a lover of *Kṛṣṇa*. The mention of the thirty realms of the sun reflects a later stage in the evolution of Indian thought, when astronomy developed and spread among the people; X. 161 is ascribed to *Śraddhā*—an abstract quality. Lastly, we come to *Ūrvaśī* in X. 95 in the course of a dialogue, where she relates her story to *Purūravas*.

Ūrvaśī is not a human being, but an inhabitant of heaven, who came down to earth and married King *Purūravas*. The dialogue begins at the point where *Ūrvaśī* is leaving the King, the King entreating her to stay, and the nymph insisting on her going away, leaving her son behind to console *Purūravas*.¹ Max Müller,

¹ The story appears in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Purūravas* and has been dramatized by *Kālidāsa* in his well-known drama, ‘*Vikramorvaśī*’.

in his selected essays, analyzes the etymology of the words Ūrvaśī and Purūravas, and is inclined to think that they represented Ushā or the Dawn and the Sun, and the whole dialogue is an allegory of the display of the sunlight and darkness. (Vol. I, pp. 407, edition of 1881.)

In the above the names of the authors are those of goddesses and one of an abstract quality.

It cannot be possible that the goddesses who are not beings of flesh and blood have composed the hymns. The poems are in all probability later productions, and the real authors have suppressed their names and ascribed their origin to the supernatural. As the Rg-Veda is thought to be a book of revelation and as such not to have been composed by any human being, the composers have possibly ascribed them to the supernatural beings as their names are mentioned in the hymns.

The position of a woman in society can further be known from some of the hymns of the second Maṇḍala of the Rg-Veda standing under the authorship of Parucehapa, the son of Devadāśī. Children were generally designated after the title and name of the father. But this exception to the rule indicates the existence of Devadāśī system—women dedicated to the service of gods, a system which has come down to posterity in India, and which can be traced back to the Indo-European period. For we find the same custom prevalent in other branches of the Indo-European stock.

The reference to instances in which women outstepped the codes of moral law, as we understand it in the present day, are frequent in the Rg-Veda. The way in which they are introduced in the hymns shows that such things were not regarded as objectionable in society (R.V., I. 134. 3; IV. 5. 5; VIII. 17. 7, etc.).

Indecent scenes creep into the description of the Goddess of Dawn. She is described often as a woman dressed in variegated colours, like that of a dancing maid, appearing on the stage to reveal her beauty. Reference to the existence of illegitimate love and the abandonment of offspring is also to be found in the Rg-Veda (R.V., II. 29. 1). That there were women who were professional dancers is evident from the description of the dawn (I. 92. 4).

The antecedent to the narrative is as follows: The nymph agrees to live with Purūravas on two conditions:

- (1) that he should take care of her two rams;
- (2) that he should never appear to her without clothes

After four years the gods plan to bring her back to heaven and steal at night one of her rams. The King springs from his bed and runs after them in haste. The Gandharvas send on them a flash of magic lightning, and the nymph sees him naked; and as one of the promises is broken, she leaves him.

The Vedic womanhood, then, as we have seen, has its heights and depths, its brighter and darker aspects of life. Woman was regarded with due respect in every station of life, and she was not subject to any of the merciless laws of an unsympathetic society. Even when she overstepped moral laws, she was judged with sympathy, and the anger of the gods incurred thereby affected the male and the female alike.

The question naturally comes to our minds how far this picture of womanhood painted in the RĠ-Veda can be claimed as the heritage of India. The hymns, as we know, were not all composed in India, nor are they of the same period. Some of them were composed at a period about which history is silent. Others reflect the dawn of Indian history, when Aryans entered India through its north-western gates for the first time, and settled in the Punjab. In some of the hymns addressed to the Ásvins we find a vivid ¹ description of the sea and *Samudra* ² is the word used for it, as distinguished from the river which is designated as Nadī (VII. 68. 7; VII. 69. 7; VIII. 5. 22).

उपज्ञरे गिरीणां संगथे च नदीनां ।

धिष्या विप्रो अजायत ॥

अतः समुद्रमुदत्स्त्रिक्लिषां अय पश्यति ।

यतो विपान एजति ॥—VIII. 6 28-29.

‘There where the mountains downward slope,
There by the meeting of the streams,

¹ R.V., VII. 68. 7; VII. 69. 7; 70. 2; VIII. 5 22; VIII. 10. 1

² Vivien de Saint Martin (Etude sur la géographie du Veda, 62) does not think that the ocean was known to the Vedic Indians; Max Müller (SBE. 32, 61, quoting R.V., I. 71; 190. 7; V. 78. 8; VII. 49. 2, 95. 2; X. 58) and Lassen (Indische Alterthumskunde, 12, 883) think that the sea was known to them; Zimmer (Altindisches Leben, 22 *et seq.*), too, admits it in elucidating R.V., VII. 95. 2 as well as in later literature (A.V., IV. 10. 4 (pearl shell), VI. 105. 3—the outflow of the ocean; XIX. 38. 2; Taittiriya Samhitā, VII. 4. 13, 1). According to him neither the ebb and flow of the sea nor the mouths of the Indus are known to the people and the use of the word *Samudra* is metaphorical, signifying two oceans—the upper and the lower, in the following passages: R.V., X. 136. 5; cf. A.V., XI. 5. 6; R.V., VII. 6. 7; X. 98. 5. Elsewhere the word refers only to Indus with its tributaries (R.V., I. 71. 7; III. 36. 7; 46. 4; V. 85. 6; VI. 36. 3, VII. 95. 2; VIII. 16. 2; 44. 25; IX. 88. 6; 107. 9; 108. 16; where reference is made to streams, or R.V., I. 163. 1; IV. 21. 3; V. 55. 5; VIII. 6. 29, where a contrast between land and sea is made). But references to the treasures of the ocean are to be found (cf. R.V., I. 47. 6; VII. 6. 7; IX. 97. 44); pearls or the gains of trade are alluded to in the following: cf. R.V., I. 48. 3; 56. 2; IV. 55. 6; and the general parallelism of the Dioscuri and the Ásvins. It is not known if trade was carried on by sea with Babylonia. Weber (Indian Literature, 3) bases his argument on the occurrence of Gof and Tukhum in the Hebrew book of Kings (I Kings, X. 22).

The sage was manifest with song;
Thence marking from his lofty place,
Downward he looks upon the sea,
And thence with rapid stir he moves.'—Griffiths.

The above appears in books that are considered to be the oldest stock of the R̥g-Vedic compositions. The internal evidence of the poem shows that they were composed in a mountainous region in the vicinity of a sea, which was perhaps at the foot of the mountains. Here we also see the mention of a river, or *nadī* running down the mountains, side by side with the description of the sea or *Samudra*. Now the question arises what sea is referred to in the above hymns. The records of history show that the Aryans, when they entered India, confined themselves to the north-western part of the Punjab for centuries, when the major part of the R̥g-Veda was composed. With the growth of population, when they first thought of extending their dominions, it was towards the south-east that they moved. It is likely that at this stage the Arabian Sea came to their ken. The sea mentioned in the above is not the river Sindhu, for we find the description of the river in other versēs. In R.V., VII. 10. 1, the Aśvins are invoked to come from a mansion built near the sea, which shows that the other side of the sea was known to the seers. It has to be mentioned in this connection that the rendering of *Samudra* as 'Antariksha' by Sāyaṇāchārya is far-fetched, and hence not tenable. So the sea described in this connection seems to be an inland sea situated at the foot of the mountain ranges, and hence in all probability one situated near the Hindu-Kush in Central Asia. Discoveries in this region show that a part of Central Asia was a sea-bed, as the remains of many aquatic animals have been excavated from that area. Some of these poems usher in a picture of a mountainous region, which in all probability was beyond the outskirts of the Himālayas, as we cannot trace any inland sea of the above description on the southern side of the mountain ranges.

Turning to the other points of our survey, the development in the characterization of the Aśvins is noteworthy. We find here a wide gap between the beginning and the end. It has been systematically developed by the thinkers and seers of different ages. It is probable that at the outset they were two princes.¹ In the wide lapse of time the human origin of the heroes was forgotten and they were transformed into gods, first to the gods of the firma-

¹ R.V., VII. 67. 1; VII. 71. 4, where the word अश्विनो occurs. In these Aśvin-hymns, the gods are addressed as 'Princes'.

ment, the sun and the moon¹ and, lastly, they became the divine physicians, the whole thing thus bearing the stamp of the intellectual development of thousands of years. The last phase is purely an Indian development.

The same can be said of womanhood. We find here things common to earlier stages of civilization, rituals round the two primary factors of life—marriage and death—being developed into social institutions. They are recorded in X. 85 and X. 18 respectively. We cannot ascribe them to any legislator of this time.

The picture of Samana shows some aspects of this early civilization, where freedom was given to people of either sex to meet without any conventional bar. From the description of Ushā's and other references to courtesans it seems as though they were not highly censured; though it cannot be said with certainty whether they stood in the high estimation of the public, as in the times of Vātsyāyana.²

Capture of women for wives, which is common to primitive society is to be met with here. It is to be seen in other races, too. 'Capture of women for wives has prevailed among ancient Semitics. In Arabia it was common before Muhammad. Among Hebrews members of the military class were allowed to marry foreign women, taken in war, contrary to the law which forbade intermarriage with the Gentiles.' (History of Human Marriage, by Westernmarck.)

'According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, marriage by capture at one time existed throughout Greece.'

Traces of primitiveness are not altogether absent here, and we find instances of a crude society existing side by side with the more developed civilized customs. Its influence can be traced in some of the developing social institutions. The winning of a maiden by feats of chivalry, the existence of mutual affection and love-making before marriage are, as we know from the literature of the Greeks and other nationalities, common to the Indo-European group.

¹ R.V., VII. 72. 5; VII. 73. 5; III. 58. 2; IV. 44. 1. 'The praise of Ūsha hath awoke the Ásvins'—III. 58. 1. 'Come from the west, come from the east, Nāsatyas, come, Ásvins, from below and from above us.'—VII. 72. 5.

² 'वेद्याभवन्ने सभायामन्यतमस्याद्वसिते वा समानविद्याबुद्धिशौकवितवयसां सद्य वेद्याभिरनुकूपै-
राज्ञापैरासन्नयमो मोक्षी । तत्र चैषां काव्यसमस्या कलासमस्या वा'

'Respectable citizens of equal learning, intelligence, wealth and age should assemble in the house of a courtesan, a courtyard of public meetings or in the house of any other man. This is called a *goshthi*. Investigation in arts or poetry should be carried out by attending the *Goshthi*.'—Adhikaraṇa I, chapter IV, 8.

The above describes how the houses of courtesans were centres where the learned met for their scholarly discussions. The debates were carried on in Sanskrit, which was probably the common language of the people.

In the earliest books of the Ṛg-Veda, we do not find any reference to polygamy. Perhaps there was no scope for it. The rules of marriage were not so well laid down and life was not so regulated. But after the Aryans settled down, polygamy came into existence, and we find distinct traces of it in the last Maṇḍala.

So, to sum up: the womanhood depicted in the Ṛg-Veda is different from what we find in the later literature. The existence of festivals as Samana, where men and women joined, the free life of a maiden, the pursuit of Sūrya after the goddess Ushās, the custom of dedicating women to the service of gods known under the custom of Devadāsīs, the winning of a maiden by feats of chivalry, the burial of the dead and such various other touches have something in common with the other branches of the Indo-European group.

THE GAYĀ AND NĀLANDĀ PLATES OF SAMUDRA-GUPTA

By R. C. MAJUMDAR

The Gayā Copper-plate of Samudra-gupta, dated year 9,¹ was regarded by Dr. Fleet as spurious, mainly on the following grounds:—

- (1) The epithets of Samudra-gupta are uniformly in the genitive case, but his name is in the nominative.
- (2) Some of the characters of the inscription are comparatively modern, belonging probably to the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

Fleet's opinion was generally accepted till R. D. Banerji challenged it and maintained that the Gayā Copper-plate was genuine.² He, however, made no attempt to answer the two objections noted above.

A second copper-plate of Samudra-gupta, dated year 5, was discovered in course of excavations at Nālandā in the year 1927-28. A short note on it was published by Dr. H. Sastri, and it was subsequently edited by Mr. A. Ghosh.³

Excepting the names of the donors, the villages granted, and the camps from which they were issued, the two copper-plates show a very close resemblance. The genealogical portion is identical, the phraseology of the formal portion is similar, and in both cases the deed was written by the order of Gopasvāmī, the *akṣapaṭalādhikṛta* of another village. The only notable differences are, that the Nālandā plate gives two official titles to Gopasvāmī and adds the name of 'Kumāra Śrī Chandra-gupta' at the end.

The language of the genealogical portion being identical, the first objection noted above, by Fleet, applies in this case also. But the characters of this inscription show early Gupta forms throughout.

Dr. Sastri regarded the Nālandā plate as spurious, but Dr. Bhandarkar did not agree to this view,⁴ while Mr. Ghosh was of opinion that the genuineness of the plate was not above suspicion. Dr. D. C. Sircar, on the other hand, emphatically maintains that it is a forged document.⁵

In addition to the faulty grammatical construction noted by Fleet, several other arguments have been advanced against the

¹ Edited by Dr. Fleet, *CII*, III, 254.

² Age of the Imperial Guptas, pp. 7-8.

⁴ List of Ins. No. 2075.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, 50.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, 135-36.

genuineness of the Nālandā Grant, viz. (1) it is full of mistakes, (2) it indiscriminately uses *v* and *b* (which is unusual in Gupta records), (3) the epithet applied to Samudra-gupta meaning that 'he restored the Aśvamedha sacrifice which had been in abeyance for a long time' occurs only in the records of his successors; the performance of such a sacrifice is not mentioned even in the Allahabad Pillar Ins. and is very unlikely before the 5th year of his reign (or of the Gupta era) when the grant was made; (4) the title *Parama-Bhāgavata* is applied to Samudra-gupta, but both coins and inscriptions indicate that the title was assumed for the first time by his son Chandra-gupta II.

These arguments are undoubtedly very strong but cannot be regarded as final and conclusive, particularly if we bear in mind that there are serious difficulties in the way of regarding them as forged and spurious.

In the first place, the very close resemblance in the wording of the two plates leaves no doubt that both were based on a common draft. This must either have been an old document or one composed by the forger. In the former case, it would be exceedingly strange if this document were not a genuine grant and a spurious one. For while two persons living at different times and places might each be supposed to secure a genuine official grant, we could hardly believe that each of them would independently come across the self-same forged grant, containing the same faulty grammatical construction. In the latter case it is certain that the two copper-plates were not forged by one and the same individual, but two different persons. This is proved by the difference in the character employed. Dr. D. C. Sircar argues that 'it is always very easy for a forger to copy the script only four centuries older'. This may be doubted, for apart from mechanical difficulty, the necessity of such a procedure is not likely to occur to a forger who could not distinguish a genuine from a spurious grant. But, even granting this, we must hold that the forgers were different, as one of them foolishly used very late characters while the other very shrewdly copied the old Gupta alphabet. It is impossible to believe that one and the same man could be both so foolish and so shrewd at one and the same time.

Now this shrewd forger must have been a strange person indeed. He was clever enough to see that his forgery would be detected if he did not imitate the old characters employed in genuine Gupta records and he performed the not very easy task of using, throughout, exact replica of Gupta letters, without a single lapse, in this long record of twelve lines. But while he gave evidence of such judgment, foresight and skill, he wholly overlooked the comparatively simpler fact that the use of the genitive case-ending of the epithets, along

with the name of Samudra-gupta in the nominative, would be the cause of a graver suspicion about the genuineness of his record. So the theory of forgery involves strange inconsistency, difficult to explain in a normal way.

The use of Gupta characters leaves no doubt that the forger of the Nālandā plate had a genuine Gupta record before him. Then why did he commit the grammatical blunder? Fleet offers the following explanation in the case of the Gayā plate: 'The drafter of the inscription was copying from a grant of Chandra-gupta II or some other descendant of Samudra-gupta, and inscribed the portion relating to his epithets in the genitive case-ending; he only then recognized that this construction would not suit a supposed inscription of Samudra-gupta himself which was required in accordance with the seal that was to be attached and he promptly then adopted the nominative construction.'

Now this explanation presupposes that the actual engraver of the plate was a learned Sanskritist, who detected the mistake after he had inscribed a considerable portion of the plate. This is very unusual, for ordinarily the engraver is merely a skilled mechanic who copies the draft composed by another, and is not a literary man with knowledge or intelligence enough to enable him to detect such mistakes.

But even assuming Fleet's explanation to be true, the specific mistake could only occur in that particular record, on account of the exigencies of the seal used, and we cannot explain how the same mistake arose in connection with the Nālandā plate. It might be argued that the forger of the Nālandā plate used the forged Gayā plate as his model, but apart from the fact that it would then be the most curious coincidence, it does not explain why the engraver of the Nālandā plate did not imitate the letters of the plate before him and went out of his way to imitate the characters of genuine Gupta records. He would not have copied the latter if he had no reason to suspect the genuineness of the former, and if he had any such suspicion he would have most assuredly followed a genuine record.

It does not appear that the Nālandā plate had any seal attached to it. Mr. Ghosh says that 'it is not unlikely that one was originally attached to it in that portion of the proper right side of the plate which is now broken'. But as lines 6 and 8 which cover the central part of the record begin as usual with the same margin on the left, and are not removed to the right, as in the case of the Gayā plate, it is very unlikely that any seal could be attached to it. Fleet's explanation that the seal of Samudra-gupta forced the forger suddenly to alter the grammatical construction would not suit the Nālandā plate, and, even if there were a seal in this case also, it

would again be very strange indeed if the same sort of accident happened to two persons at different times and induced them to commit exactly the same mistake. In this case, at least, we must think of two different forgers, for if he were one and the same man, he must have been wiser after committing his first blunder and would hardly repeat it. If there were no compelling circumstances like the seal, the forger had no reason to commit the mistake, for it would have been immaterial if the grant was purported to have been made by Samudra-gupta or one of his successors, and thus no satisfactory explanation of the grammatical blunder is afforded by the theory of forgery.

The more we think about it it becomes harder to offer a reasonable and consistent explanation of the forgery of the two plates. We can hardly think of one forger, showing such strange inconsistencies, or of two forgers at different times and places, by chance hitting upon the same curious resemblances and blunders. Further, if one man forged the two, the differentiation in the names of the camp of victory, and the dates, and the addition of the name of the crown-prince at the end of one would show a cleverness of manipulation and knowledge of history ill-matched with ignorance of ordinary rules of grammar.

Since the theory of forgery involves serious difficulties and inconsistencies it behoves us to reconsider the question and find out if the argument against the genuineness of the plates is really of a decisive character.

As regards the faulty grammatical construction, attention may be drawn to the Bilsad stone pillar inscription of Kumāra-gupta.¹ Here, also, all the epithets of Samudra-gupta are in the genitive case, followed by the compound *Samudra-gupta-putrasya*, though a separate genitive *Samudra-guptasya* is required by rules of grammar; and the same mistake is repeated in the following *Chandra-gupta-putrasya*. (Other similar instances may be cited from Vākāṭaka records.) Now this is a grammatical mistake, of the same kind, as we come across in Gayā and Nālandā plates, but no one can possibly suggest on that account that the Bilsad inscription (or the Vākāṭaka records) is a forgery. Howsoever the mistake might have arisen, the examples cited above ought to warn us against treating similar mistakes as conclusive evidence of spuriousness. It is interesting to note in this connection, that the drafters of the Gupta records always use the genitive case up to Samudra-gupta, and then, from his son onwards, use the nominative instead, though, in the records of Kumāra-gupta I and later kings it would have been more

¹ CII, III, 42.

appropriate to use nominative case throughout as we find, for example, in the genealogy of the Maukhari, Pushpabhuti and Pragjyotisha kings. The reason of this prediction for using genitive case-endings up to Samudra-gupta is not known, but this tendency is possibly of early origin and probably accounts for the curious grammatical mistakes that we find not only in the Nālandā plate but also in the Bilsad stone pillar inscription.

The most important argument against the genuineness of the Gayā plate is that while some of the characters are antique, others are comparatively modern. In this connection attention may be drawn to the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman¹ which conclude with the following verse: 'Because after the burning of the plates, these newly written letters are of different form, therefore they are not forged.' On this Professor Sten Konow remarks: 'There are on the whole some features which would, in ordinary circumstances, throw doubt on the genuineness of the plates There is no reason to compel us to doubt this statement (contained in the verse quoted) which, if we admit its correctness, accounts for the peculiarities drawn attention to above.'²

Now the case of the Gayā plate may be exactly similar. The seal of this plate contained a legend in five lines 'which is so worn that nothing of it can be read except a few disconnected letters here and there and the name of Samudra-gupta very faintly at the end'. If we assume that the original plate was burnt by fire and a duplicate copper-plate was prepared to which the original seal was attached we get an explanation of the points noted by Fleet in the following observation: 'The legend on the seal of this grant is in characters which present a very different appearance to those of the body of the inscription; as also does the copper-plate.' Further, it is probable that while making the copy of the burnt charter, some of the letters which were legible were exactly copied while in other cases, the forms familiar to the copyist were used. This would account for the curious blending of antique and comparatively modern forms in the Gayā plate.

It is thus possible to meet the two principal objections against the genuineness of the two copper-plates of Samudra-gupta, by citing analogous instances. As regards the other objections they are less formidable. The coins of Samudra-gupta describe him as the restorer of Aśvamedha sacrifice. The performance of an Aśvamedha sacrifice before the year 5 cannot be ruled out altogether as an impossible contingency, for we do not know exactly the chronology of Samudra-gupta's campaign and it is not necessary to

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XII, 65.

² *Ibid.*, 72.

assume that Samudra-gupta performed* it after completing his conquests. Even less powerful kings, ruling over territories much smaller than that of Samudra-gupta at the beginning of his reign, have claimed to perform the sacrifice. As regards the title *Parama-Bhāgavata*, we have merely negative evidence to show that it was not assumed by Samudra-gupta, and such evidence, however strong, cannot be regarded as final and conclusive. As regards orthographical mistakes, it is hardly necessary to point out that they are sometimes very common even in genuine grants.

It is not my intention to minimize the importance of the points urged by scholars against the genuineness of the two grants. I have merely endeavoured to show that while it is possible to offer an explanation of the peculiarities which raise suspicion about the genuineness of the two copper-plates, the assumption that they are forgeries raises difficult problems which cannot be solved without having resort to abnormal and very inconsistent suppositions. It would, therefore, be much safer to keep an open mind about these plates rather than definitely declare them to be spurious or forged.¹

¹ [It is a matter of extreme delight that the views of Dr R. C. Majumdar completely accord with mine. It is not, however, clear how the two notes of Sakuntala Rao Sastri on the subject have escaped his attention. They have been published *Above*, Vol. X, pp. 77-79.—D. R. B.]

MISCELLANEA

GÖVINDAGUPTA AND PURUGUPTA

While tackling some of the problems arising out of my revision of the *Gupta Inscriptions* I wrote one note on *Break (?) in the Genealogy of Vākātaka Pravarasena* on pp. 175 and ff. (*Above*, Vol. IX) and another note on *Nṛpati-Parivrājaka* on pp. 227-28. The second note does not need much of a reply. But the first point is of such paramount importance that I hope the scholars mentioned in the last sentence of that note, and, others, if they so desire, will be so good as to raise a full and lucid discussion on it as early as possible.

Now and here I am referring to a third point connected with Gupta History. Who was Gövindagupta? We know that he has been mentioned in a Basarḥ seal pertaining to Dhruva-svāminī which describes her as wife of Chandragupta II and mother of Gövindagupta. Here the first of these is designated *Mahārājādhirāja* and the second simply *Mahārāja*. The conclusion is obvious that he was an heir-apparent to the Gupta throne and stationed as Yuvarāja at Vaiśālī. As no coin of Gövindagupta has yet been found, it may perhaps be concluded that he died without coming to the Gupta throne. But there is an inscription which describes Gövindagupta in such a manner that he seems to have been a supreme ruler (Bhandarkar's *List North Inscr.* No. 7). But as no coins of his have been identified, the conclusion is not unreasonable that Gövindagupta and Kumāragupta were names of one and the same king. In this connection it is worthy of note that there is a type of coins which has on the obverse *Ku* beneath the left arm of the king and *Gō* between his feet. *Ku* seems to stand for Kumāragupta and *Gō* for Gövindagupta.

It is well known by now that his father Chandragupta II had also another name, namely Dēvagupta. Why should not Kumāragupta have another name, namely, Gövindagupta? It may be noticed that Kumāragupta's son also had a second name. His well-known name was of course Skandagupta. But it now seems that he had another appellation, namely, Puragupta or Purugupta. There was a time when Mr. Allan's reading of the name Puragupta on some coins held the field. But Mr. Sarasi Kumar Sarasvati has correctly pointed out that the name is not Puragupta but Budhagupta. I sincerely hope that scholars will come forward to discuss this point also threadbare.

D. R. B.

DID VĀKĀTAKA RULE BECOME EXTINCT AFTER VINDHYAŚAKTI II ?

In an interesting note published in this Journal (Vol. IX, pp. 175ff.) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has quoted a passage from my article on the Tiroḍi plates of the Vākātaka Pravarasena II, in which I pointed out an apparently faulty construction in the stereotyped form of the Vākātaka genealogy. Dr. Bhandarkar asks why I have slurred over this faulty construction and followed Dr. Fleet in my translation of the record. He will find the reason given in the sentences immediately following the passage quoted by him, viz. 'But in that case the successor of Pravarasena I would be his great-grandson as Gautamīputra did not evidently come to the throne. . . . Besides, there is no reason why the name of Pravarasena's son should have been omitted.' If Gautamīputra was the grandson and not the son of Pravarasena I, who was the son of the latter? Why has his name been omitted? Was it because he did not reign? In that case Gautamīputra's name also should have been omitted, for he too did not reign, as the epithet *l'ākātakānām Mahārājasya* is omitted in his case. It seems best therefore to regard Gautamīputra as a son of Pravarasena I.

As regards Dr. Bhandarkar's ingenious suggestions that Sarvasena and Vindhyaśakti (II), now known from the Bāsim plates, ruled after Pravarasena I, that the Vākātaka rule became extinct after them and that the power of the dynasty was revived by Samudragupta in the time of Rudrasena I who belonged to another line, it may be pointed out that they run counter to the statement in the Purāṇas that four sons of Pravīra (i.e. Pravarasena I) became kings. Secondly, the line of Sarvasena and Vindhyaśakti (II) does not appear to have become extinct. It continued to rule at Vatsagulma (modern Bāsim) in Southern Berar as appears clear from the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā.¹

We can reconcile all available data in the following manner. Pravarasena I had a long reign; for he performed four aśvamedhas and the Purāṇas also say that he ruled for sixty years.² After him his extensive empire in the Deccan was divided—among his four sons. His eldest son Gautamīputra had predeceased him.³ So his grandson Rudrasena I succeeded him in Northern Vidarbha and

¹ See *Vākātaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā* (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 14).

² Pargiter, *Dynasties*, etc., p. 50.

³ As the statement in the Purāṇas is very brief, it does not give the further detail that in the eldest branch the grandson, not the son, came to the throne.

probably ruled from the old capital Purikā. Sarvasena of the second branch ruled over Southern Vidarbha from his capital Vatsagulma. The territories held by his other two sons are not known, as no records of their times have yet come to light; but they may have been ruling over the country to the south of the Godāvarī. Perhaps their kingdoms were soon overthrown by other dynasties which rose in that part of the country.

Still the question remains, 'Why is there the faulty construction in the genealogical portion of the records of the eldest branch?' This question is not difficult to answer. The first part of the genealogical statement in the grants of Pravarasena II seems to have been originally drafted for a copperplate grant of Rudrasena I and was repeated in all subsequent records of his descendants just as the genealogy set forth in the grants of Pravarasena II is found repeated in the Bālāghāt plates of his grandson Prthiviṣeṇa II. The description in this earlier part is similar to that of Samudragupta in the Allahabad pillar inscription, viz. Mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭotkaca-pautrasya Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Candragupta-putrasya. The only difference is that instead of *pautrasya*, the drafter of the Vākāṭaka record used *sūnoḥ sūnoḥ* because of his love for alliteration¹ and the absence of a suitable *taddhita* form from *sūnu* meaning 'a grandson'.

V. V. MIRASHI.

AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE DHVANI-THEORY

Of all the poetic theories that were advanced in succession by the reputed critics of old with a view to accounting for the beauty and grace of a poetic composition, the theory of suggestion figures supreme by virtue of its freshness and novelty. The expounders of this new theory had ventured to depart from the stereotyped way of looking at a poetic composition, and with a rare critical acumen succeeded to hit upon the very quintessence of a true poetic art. Even a mere perusal of the *Dhvanyāloka* will be apt to give an idea, however insufficient, of the breadth of outlook which the new theorists brought to bear upon their task. Their critical vision was much sharper than that of their predecessors and rivals who posited either the *rīti*, or the *guṇas* as the soul of a poetic composi-

¹ For another instance of his fondness for alliteration, see *Gautamīputrasya putrasya* which occurs afterwards.

tion. They could not conceive of anything new which might lend beauty to a poetic art. Their vision was riveted merely by the outward appearance—the limbs, so to say, and was shut out from having even the faintest glimpse of the soul. As Abhinavagupta so rightly observes: “वाच्यसंबलनाविमोहितहृदयैस्तु तत्पृथग्भावे विप्रतिपद्यते, चार्वाकैरिवात्मदृश्यग्भावे” । The Dhvani-theorists admit that रीति, वृत्ति and गुण add to the grace of a poem each in its own way, but their function is only secondary. The soul being there, the ornaments can adorn the limbs; but in its absence, they cease to be ornaments. So is it with *riti*, *vṛtti* and *guṇa*. They have to depend for their very being on the presence of the soul, viz. the suggested sense.¹

But the Dhvani-theorists had to face vehement challenges from various quarters, which they ably controverted: Ānandavardhana anticipates some of the contentions against the theory of which he was going to furnish an elaborate exposition—in the following verse which constitutes the opening stanza of the *Dhvanyāloka*:

काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्यः समाम्नातपूर्व-
स्तस्याभावं जगदुरपरे भाक्तमाऊस्तमन्ये ।
केचिद्वाचां स्थितमविषये तत्त्वमूचस्तदीयं
तेन ब्रूमः सहृदयमनःप्रीतये तत्त्वरूपम् ॥²

¹ Cf. रसभावादित्यात्यर्थमाश्रित्य विनिवेशनम् ।

अलङ्करीणां सर्वासामलङ्कारत्वसाधनम् ॥—Dhvanyāloka ii, p. 197. (Ben. Edn.)

Also Abhinavagupta under it—एतदुक्तं भवति—उपमया यद्यपि वाच्योऽर्थोऽलङ्क्रियते तथापि तस्य तदेवालङ्करणं यद् वाक्यार्थाभिव्यञ्जनसामर्थ्याधानम्—इति वस्तुतो ध्वन्यात्मैवालङ्कार्यः । कटक-केयूरादिभिरपि शरीरसमवायिभिश्चेतन आत्मैव तत्तच्चित्तवृत्तिविधेवोचित्यस्तत्तत्तयाऽलङ्क्रियते । तथापि अचेतनं श्वशरीरं कुण्डलाद्युपेतमपि न भाति, अलङ्कार्यस्य अभावात् । यतिशरीरं कटकादियुक्तं वास्यावचं भवति, अलङ्कार्यस्यानौचित्यात् ॥—*Op. cit.*, pp. 197-198.

² Note also °Locana where Abhinava summarizes the three main complaints against the Dhvani-theory—तत्र समयापेक्षणेन शब्दोऽर्थप्रतिपादक इति क्त्वा वाच्यवृत्तिरिक्तं नास्ति वस्तुम्; सदपि वा तद् अभिधाहत्याक्षिप्तं शब्दावगतार्थवत्त्वादाहृत्वाद् भाक्तम्; तदनाक्षिप्तमपि वा न वक्तुं शक्यं कुमादौष्विव भर्तृपुत्रमतद्विस्तु ॥ But जयरथ³ in his विमर्शिनी notes as many as 12 rival sects: cf.

नात्यर्थशक्तिरभिधाहृत्वा नुमिति द्विधा । अर्थापत्तिः कश्चित् तन्त्रं समासोक्त्याऽलङ्कतिः ॥

रसस्य कार्यता भोजो व्यापाराकरसाधनम् । द्वादशैव ध्वनेरस्य क्लृप्ता विप्रतिपत्तयः ॥—p. 9, NSP.

Edn.

Besides the contentions anticipated and refuted in the first chapter of the *Dhvanyāloka* a few other stern criticisms were levelled against the Dhvani-theory of which the *anumāna*-theory deserves special mention. Though no reference to it has been made in the opening chapter of the *Dhvanyāloka*, still Ānandavardhana notes it in brief in Chapter iii where he tries to endorse the claim of *vyañjanā* being recognized as a separate *vṛtti*.¹ The Anumāna-school found in Mahimabhaṭṭa, a Kāśmīrian, the most enthusiastic upholder of its cause. The *Vyaktiviveka* which is replete with instances of a wonderful skill of its author in polemics was written with the sole aim of proving the thesis that it was after all useless to reckon a separate function of words, viz. *vyañjanā*, its function being served by the process of Inference or *anumāna*.² Mahimabhaṭṭa, in the first instance, takes up the verse '*yatrārthaḥ śabdō vā*' where the Dhvanikāra furnishes a working definition of *Dhvani-kāvya* and with a rare zeal, which we can term ferocity even, tears it up clause by clause pointing out blemishes at every step.³ Though Mahimabhaṭṭa tried his utmost to demolish the *dhvani*-theory, yet his endeavours could not be appreciated by men of letters. This neglect, in consequence of which the *anumāna*-theory gradually fell into an unmerited oblivion, was due to his 'being pitted against the famous Ānandavardhana'. Kane (HAL., xciii) had made his position safe and unshakable even by the most furious blast of adverse criticism.⁴ Another cause of the neglect of the *Vyaktiviveka* is the terseness of the language in which the arguments have been couched; it lacks that grace and easy felicity which characterize the writings of Ānandavardhana and Abhinava, and which to no small extent made their works popular in educated circles. In the Third Uddyota Ānandavardhana brushes aside the contention of the *anumiti-vādins* with the curt remark that even

¹ Compare: अस्यतिसम्मानावसरः—अक्षकलं शब्दानां गमकलं तच्च लिङ्गलम् ; अतश्च अङ्गप्रतीति-
लिङ्गप्रतीतिरेवेति लिङ्गलिङ्गिभाव एव तेषां अङ्ग्यथक्षकभावो नापरः कश्चित् ।—*Op. cit.*, Ch. iii, p. 448.

² Compare: अनुमानेऽन्तर्भावं सर्वस्यैव ध्वनेः प्रकाशयितुम् ।

व्यक्तिविवेकं कुरुते प्रथम्य महिमा परा वाचम् ॥—*Vyaktiviveka*, Chap. i, 1.

³ Note: एतच्च विविच्यमानमनुमानस्यैव संगच्छते मान्यस्य । तथापि अर्थस्य तावद् उपसर्जनोक्तता-
त्त्वमनुपादेयमेव । तस्य अर्थान्तरप्रतीत्यर्थमुपात्तस्य तद्व्यभिचाराभावात् । नच अन्यादिसिद्धौ भूमादि-
वपादोचमानो गुणतामसिर्वाते । et seq.—*Vyaktiviveka*, Chap. i.

⁴ Compare: आनन्द इति च प्रथमतो नाम । तेन च आनन्दवर्द्धनाचार्य एतस्याङ्गद्वारेण सङ्गद-
वृद्धेः प्रतिष्ठा देवतायतनादिवर्द्धनचरितं क्षितिं गच्छतु—इति भावः । सङ्गदवृद्धवृत्तयोः अन्वय-
व्यञ्जक इति भावः ।—*Locana*, p. 41.

though we concede for argument's sake that the power of suggestion is no other than the process of logical inference, still we must falter when we come to the instance of the lamp and the jar, on the analogy of which the whole fabric of the theory of Dhvani has been built up; for with no stretch of imagination can we regard the jar being inferred from the presence of light.¹ In the commentary on the *Vyaktiviveka*, Rūyyaka, the author of the *Alamkārasarvasva*, too, criticizes the views of the author Mahimabhaṭṭa. In the *Alamkārasarvasva*, he briefly touches upon the views of the *Vyaktivivekakāra* and points out the flaws in his thesis.² Jayaratha, too, the commentator of the last-named work, brings out in bold relief the utter improbability of the views of the *Vyaktivivekakāra* while commenting on the passage referred to just now.³ Most of the critics of the Anumiti-theory lay stress on one point particularly, viz. that an inference of the *pratīyamāna* from the *vācya* is invariably vitiated on account of the 'middle term' (i.e. the *hetu*) being distributed (i.e. *anaikāntika*).

Thus in spite of the ingenuity of the author of the *Vyaktiviveka* his novel proposition failed to gain much ground in the teeth

¹ Note: [अवोचते—नन्वेवमपि यदि नाम स्यात् तत् किं नश्चिद्भम्? वाचकल-गुणवृत्तिव्यतिरिक्तो व्यञ्जकलक्षणः शब्दव्यापारोऽस्तीति अस्माभिरभ्युपगमम्। तस्य चैवमपि न काचित् क्षतिः। तद्वि व्यञ्जकलं लिङ्गत्वमलं अन्यद् वा। सर्वथा प्रसिद्धशब्दप्रकारविलक्षणत्वं शब्दव्यापारविषयत्वं च तस्यास्ति-इति नास्त्येवावयोर्विवादः।] न पुनरयं परमार्थः—यत् व्यञ्जकलं लिङ्गत्वमेव सर्वत्र, अङ्ग्यप्रतीतिश्च लिङ्गप्रतीतिरेवेति।—Dhv., Chap. iii, p. 449. On which Abhinavagupta has the following statement—प्रदोषालोकादौ लिङ्गलिङ्गिभावशून्येऽपि हि अङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावोऽस्तीति अङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावस्य लिङ्गलिङ्गिभावोऽव्यापक इति कथं तादात्म्यम्?—*Ibid.*, °Locana.

² Compare: यत् व्यक्तिविवेककारो वाचस्य प्रतीयमान प्रति लिङ्गितया व्यञ्जनस्य अनुमानान्तरभावमाख्यात् तद्व्याचस्य प्रतीयमानेन सह तादात्म्य-तदुत्पत्त्यभावात् अविचारिताभिधानम्। तदेतत् कुशाघीयधिषष्टैः खोदनीयमतिगहनम्—इति नेह प्रतन्यते ॥—*Alamkārasarvasva*, pp. 12-13.

³ इह लिङ्गलिङ्गिनोऽतादात्म्य-तदुत्पत्तिभ्यामेव तावत्प्रतिबन्धो निश्चीयते। तन्निश्चयेनैव च साध्यसिद्धिः। अन्यथा हि साध्यसिद्धिर्न स्याद् अविचारात्। तत्र तादात्म्यं यथा कृतकालान्तरयोः। तदुत्पत्तिर्यथा शक्तिभूमयोः। वाचप्रतीयमानयोः पुनस्तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्ती न सः। तथाहि—“निःशेष्युते”त्यत्र विधिना निषेधो निषेधेन वा विधिः प्रतीयते। न तस्य वाच्येन सह तादात्म्यम्—विषयत्वात्। न ह्यभावो भावात्मा भवति, भावोऽप्यभावात्मा। नापि तदुत्पत्तिः—अभावस्य जन्यजनकत्वानुपपत्तेः। नापि निःशेष-च्युतचन्दनादीनां विशेषणानां तदन्तिकगमनानुमापकत्वं युक्तम्। तेषां कानादौ अपि सदुभावाद्देहात्मिकात्वात्। एतच्च ध्वनिकारेणादुषितत्वात् पञ्चकता स्वकण्ठेन दूषितम्।—*Alam-Sarvasva*, Comm., p. 13.

of the increasing popularity of the Dhvani-theory. It must be alleged to his credit, however, that unaided though he was, he left a permanent impression in the field of poetics. Even the commentator Rūyyaka does not spare taunting him for his daring enterprise.¹ It can be safely asserted that had Mahimabhaṭṭa been fortunate enough in having a commentator like Abhinavagupta—sympathetic and sincere—his position would have been much different from what it is today.

Next to the Anumiti-theory, the Vakrokti-theory of Kuntala or Kuntaka deserves special mention. The theory is nothing but an elaboration of the implications of the assertion of Bhāmaha² to their logical consequence. This theory also sprang up as a protest against the views of the Dhvani-theorists, who though conceding the existence of *alamkāra-dhvani* still made it subservient to *rasa-dhvani*, which according to them is *dhvani* 'par excellence'.³ We have noted the views of Abhinavagupta and Ānandavardhanācārya as regards the nature of *alamkāras* or *guṇas* and how they make them quite secondary in their function. According to the Dhvanikāra—*dhvani* and *guṇibhūta-vyaṅgya*—these are the main divisions of Kāvya. The third variety is merely an imitation of Kāvya, and not so in reality.⁴ It is '*citra*'. But what is most interesting is the treatment of Rasa in *Vakrokti-jīva*. Kuntaka agrees with the Dhvanikāra that the touch of sentiment makes a poetic art live, but still he will not reckon sentiment as anything quite different from the common figures of speech. This peculiar treatment of Rasa is quite a logical outcome of his view as regards the nature of *Alamkāras* or *Vakrokti* in general. He does not regard *Vakrokti* as adventitious or an extraneous element in a Kāvya, just as Dhvanikāra and others thought; but according to Kuntaka they are inextricably blended up with *śabda* and *artha* and cannot be detached without materially compromising the splendour of the poet's art. Thus Kuntaka's logical conclusion is that '*Vakrokti*

¹ Compare: तदेवं सञ्चालिदुर्गा मार्गमनुसृत्य सङ्गद्यश्चादराय विचारयतोऽस्य सञ्चालते: न किञ्चित् पर्यनुयोगलेशस्याप्यवसर—इत्यलमतिप्रसङ्गेन ।—Comm. on Vyaktiviveka, p. 152.

² Note: सैवा सर्वत्र वक्रोक्तिरन्यथार्थो विभाषते ।

यतोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलंकारोऽनया विना ॥

³ यस्तु सन्नेपि न स्वशब्दाद्यो न लौकिकव्यवहारपतितः किंतु शब्दसमर्थमाशङ्क्यसवाद्गुण्यर-विभावानुभावसमुच्चितप्राग्निविष्ट-इत्यादिवाचनानुरागसुकुमार-स्वसंविदामन्दर्पवाद्यापार-रसनीयकपो रसः, स काव्यापापैकगोचरो रसध्वनिरिति, स च ध्वनिरिति स एव मुख्यतया आत्मा ।—Abhinava's °Locana, Dhv. pp. 51-52.

⁴ रसभावादितात्पर्यरहितं व्यङ्ग्यार्थविशेषप्रकाशनशक्तिप्रत्यक्षं च काव्यं केवलवाच्यवाचकवैविध्यभावा-यवेद्योपनिबद्धमालोक्ष्यप्रख्यं यदाभासते तच्चिन्म । न तन्मूर्च्छां काव्यं, काव्यानुकारो ह्यसौ ।—Dhv., Chap. iii, p. 495.

is the soul' ¹ of a poetic creation. So a Kāvya cannot be a Kāvya without Vakrokti, and the usage '*kāvyaśyāyam-alamkārah*' is quite erroneous and illogical as it gives rise to the false notion that, as if, a Kāvya might exist without Vakrokti. This being Kuntaka's view about Vakrokti in general, it is but quite logical that he would not regard रस as distinct from the Vakrokti inasmuch as Rasa too imparts grace to the poetic art in the same way as other figures of speech do. As Prof. S. K. De so rightly observes: 'From the prominence given to the analysis of Alamkāras it will be clear that Kuntaka could not put enough emphasis on Rasa and Bhāva as elements of poetry. The Rasa is dealt with topically in connection with the poetic figures, or the different mārṅas in which it is involved, as also in the treatment of *prakaraṇa-prabandha-vakratā*. Kuntaka admits the necessity of Rasa, but regards its delineation apparently as a special kind of realizing *vakratva* in composition. He quotes with approval an *antara-śloka* which lays down (Chap. iv):

“निरन्तर-रसोद्धार-गर्भ-सौन्दर्य-निर्भराः ।

गिरः कवीनां जीवन्ति न कथामात्रमाश्रिताः ॥”

He admits that it is not the mere matter or plot but the beauty imparted to it by the continuous development of Rasa which can make the words of a poet live, and in this he follows the dictum of Ānandavardhana, but as he had already the essentiality of Vakrokti, the Rasa could be comprehended only as an element of Vakrokti.' ² Nevertheless Kuntaka does recognize the *pratīyamāna* or *vyāṅgya* sense, ³ and practically concurs with the Dhvanikāra in accepting the two varieties of Dhvani based on Indication (i.e. *lakṣaṇāmūla*)—viz. *atyanta-tiraskṛta-vācya* and *arthāntara-saṁkramita-vācya*—though he includes them under the single comprehensive head, viz. *upacāra*—

¹ Compare: वक्रोक्तिः काव्यजीवितम्. Note also Rūpyaka: वक्रोक्तिजीवितकारः पुन-
वैदग्ध्यभङ्गीभषितिस्रभावां वक्रविधां वक्रोक्तिमेव प्रधान्यात् काव्यजीवितमुक्तवान् । व्यापारस्य प्रधान्यं च
काव्यस्य प्रतिपेदे । अभिधानप्रकारविशेषा एव चालुकाराः । सत्यपि चिन्ने प्रतीयमाने व्यापाररूपा भषितिरिव
वक्रविचरन्मोचरः । उपचारवक्रतादिभिः समस्तो ध्वनिप्रपञ्चः स्वीकृतः । केवलमुक्तिवैचित्र्यजीवितं काव्यं न
अकृत्यार्थजीवितमिति तदीयं दर्शनं व्यवस्थितम् ।—Alam-Sarvasva, p. 8. Kuntaka defines वक्रोक्ति
as—'वक्रोक्तिरेव वैदग्ध्यभङ्गीभषितिरुच्यते' which has been again explained in the *ḥṭi* as—
वक्रोक्तिः प्रसिद्धाभिधानव्यतिरेकियो विचित्रैवाभिधा वैदग्ध्यं कविकौशलं तस्य भङ्गी विच्छित्तिः ।

² Vakroktijivita Intro., pp. xxxv-xxxvi. S. K. De.

³ Compare: वाचोऽर्थो वाचकः शब्दः प्रसिद्धमिति यद्यपि ।

तथापि काव्यमार्गेऽस्मिन् परमार्थोऽयमेतयोः ॥

—The *vṛtti* on which runs as follows—मनु च द्योतक-व्यङ्ग्यकावपि शब्दो संभवतः ;
तदुपपत्त्याद्याश्रितः । यस्माद् अर्थप्रतीतिकारित्वसामान्यादुपचारात्तदपि वाचकावैव । एवं द्योत्यव्यङ्ग्ययो-
रर्थयोः प्रत्येकत्वसामान्यादुपचाराद् वाचकत्वमेव ॥ *Op. cit.*, I, 8.

vakratā.¹ As Prof. Kane states: 'The Vakroktijivita denies the independent existence of Dhvani or *vyāṅgya* as the soul of poetry and tries to include it under its all-pervading *vakrokti*. It therefore makes the soul of poetry to consist of something that is striking by its being very different from and above what is ordinary. It therefore holds the same view as those who regarded *dhvani* to be *bhākta*.' (HAL., p. lxxxv.)

Thus we find that Kuntaka gave a new impetus to the theory of Bhāmaha and revived it once more from the region of oblivion. Though he was influenced to no small extent by the writings of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, still he succeeded to give a new turn to the course of literary criticism, and his theory too appeals to our reason. He is right in stating that we cannot rob a composition of its figures without injuring its effect, and as such it is quite erroneous to look upon the figures as artificial or adventitious. They constitute part and parcel of the whole creation.

Coming to more recent times we find the polymath Kṣemendra, a Kāśmīrian author of the eleventh century A.D., starting a new theory to the effect that *aucitya* or 'Propriety' alone is the soul of a poetic composition. He calls *aucitya* as *rasa-jīvita-bhūta*—being, as it were, the very soul of Rasa. This view, that Rasa must be developed with reference to proper *anubhāvas* and *vibhāvas* and *sthāyins*, is not a new discovery at all on the part of Kṣemendra. It has found eloquent expression in the works of Ānandavardhana, Mahima-bhaṭṭa, etc., who regarded impropriety as a blemish that materially hampers the realization of the aesthetic pleasure or Rasa.² The

¹ Note: यच्च दूरान्तरेऽन्यस्मात् सामान्यमुपचर्यते ।

लेयेनापि भवत् काचित् वक्तुमुद्रितवृत्तितान् ॥

यन्महा सरसोक्तेषा रूपकादिरसंक्षतिः ।

उपचारप्रधानाऽसौ वक्रता काचिदुच्यते ॥—Vakroktijivita, ii, 13-14.

—On which Kuntaka cites the two verses—"गच्छन् च मनमेकं" etc. and 'स्निग्धश्चानल-कान्तिसिद्धयितः' as instances which are quoted by Ānandavardhana in his Dhvanyāloka to illustrate the two aforesaid varieties of लक्षणासूक्ष्मज्ञानि. The above two verses (viz. Vakroktijivita, ii, 13-14) have been cited by Jayaratha, too, in his gloss on Ālaṅkārasarvasva, p. 8.

² Compare: अनौचित्यादते नान्यदसंभंगस्य कारणम् ।

प्रसिद्धौचित्यवत्तस्य रसस्योपनिषत् परा ॥

—We should also note here that a sentiment when developed by improper विभावस, अनुभावस, etc. ceases to be sentiment proper and is styled रसाभाव and not रस. Cf. "नदाभासा अनौचित्यप्रवर्तिताः"—Kāvya-Prakāśa, iv. The most popular instance of रसाभाव is the following verse from Kumāra iii, e.g. "नभु द्विरेषः कुसुमेकपात्रे पयो त्रियां स्नातमवर्त्तमानः", etc. where the permanent feeling रति has been improperly developed, resting as it does in a non-sentient bee.

originality of Kṣemendra lies in the fact that he pushes this doctrine of *aucitya* too far, and holds it as underlying every sort of literary embellishment that heightens the beauty of a poetic art, whether it be *guṇa*, *alaṃkāra* or *rasa*. Thus he is led to the logical conclusion that *aucitya* alone is the *sine qua non* of a poetic art. He defines *aucitya* as—

“उचितं प्राञ्जराचार्याः सवृशं किल यस्य यत् ।

उचितस्य च यो भावस्तदौचित्यं प्रचक्षते ॥”¹

Just as ornaments, when placed in improper places, cease to adorn the limbs, so also the Guṇas and Alaṃkāras improperly introduced only make a poem ludicrous, instead of adding to its grace.² Thus Kṣemendra holds *aucitya* to be the sole underlying principle of literary embellishments, and poets should introduce them constantly keeping in view the fact that the element of *aucitya* is not violated in doing so.

This brief review of the views of the Dhvani-theorists, as also of their rivals, will be enough to reveal what an enormous impression was made by Anandavardhana and his famous scholiast Abhinavagupta in the field of literary criticism. The current of literary criticism was in an ebb, till Anandavardhana with his novel doctrine appeared in the field, and rejuvenated once more the dying stream. It must be noted that, however the rival theories might have denounced the position of the Dhvani-theorists, they could not but admit the presence of a sense quite distinct from the वाच्य sense which is conveyed by the denotative power of words. This is an axiomatic truth which they could not but concur with. And the credit of the Dhvani-theorists lies in this, that they were the first and foremost to reveal this truth. The only point on which the rival theorists ventured to disagree was concerning the process or *vyāpāra* which was auxiliary in conveying the *pratīyamāna* sense.³

¹ Aucitya-vicāra, s. 7.

² Compare: उचितस्थानविन्यासादलङ्घनिरलङ्घनः ।

औचित्यादच्युता नित्यं गुणा एव गुणाः सदा ॥

Note also the anonymous verse quoted in the Vṛtti to illustrate the point:—

कण्ठे मेखलया नितम्बफलके तारिणे चारिणे वा

पाणौ नूपुरबन्धनेन चरणे केयूरपाशेन वा ।

शौर्येण प्रसूते रिपो कवचया जायानि के हास्यताम्

औचित्येन विना वचिं प्रतनुते नालङ्घनिरौ गुणाः ॥ *

³ तदेवं लक्षणेदोषदुष्टपदस्युदासिने परिशुद्धो ध्वनिलक्षणावस्थायनर्थोऽपतिष्ठते ॥ वाच्यलक्षदनुमितिं वा यथार्थोऽर्थान्तरं प्रकाशयति । सम्बन्धतः कुतश्चित् वा काव्यानुमितिरित्युक्ता ॥ इति । एतवानुमानस्यैव

The dhvani-theorists reckoned quite a distinct function of words, viz. *vyañjanā* or Suggestion, while some disapproved it and thought Inference or *anumāna* as the process which conveyed the *pratīyamāna* sense, and others again, *lakṣaṇā* or Indication as the function which was sufficient to include in its scope the *vyāṅgya* as well as the *lakṣya* sense. Though Ānandavardhana has very aptly established the existence of the fourth power of words, viz. *vyañjanā*, still he is not very particular about it. His foremost aim was to establish the existence of the *pratīyamāna* sense which was altogether different from the *vācya* sense, and he thought his task fulfilled, successful as he was in doing so. About the function which was required to convey that sense, opinions might differ—he, himself has acknowledged this, and on his part he thought *vyañjanā* or Suggestion as the most logical and convenient way of revealing that sense.¹ This is, summarily, the position of the Dhvani-theorists.

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARYA.

THE DATE OF BHAIRAVA-PADMĀVATĪKALPA

The Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa of Malliṣeṇa² is a work on Jaina rituals being devoted to the worship of Padmāvatī, a Bhairavī.³ The name Bhairava is indicative of the influence of Tāntricism on Jainism. According to the Tantras, Bhairava is recognized as one of the eight forms of Śiva. The conception of Padmāvatī as a Mahā-Bhairavī is therefore of a late origin, Tāntric influence on Jainism being traceable not very far back, not perhaps earlier than the seventh or eighth century A.D. The author in the colophon to his work says

लक्षणं नान्यस्य । यदुक्तं “निरूपयित्वा तन्मन्त्रं परार्थानुमानं” इति । केवलं संज्ञाभेदः ॥ काव्यस्यात्मनि संज्ञितिरत्यादिके न कस्यचिद् विमतिः । संज्ञायां सा केवलमेवापि व्यक्त्ययोगतोऽस्य कृतः ॥—Vyaktiviveka, Chap. i, 25-26.

¹ Compare: वाचकल-गुणवृत्ति-यतिरिक्तो व्यक्तकललक्षणः शब्दव्यापारोऽस्ति—इत्यस्याभिरभ्युपगमम् । तस्य चैवमपि न काचित् क्षतिः । तदि व्यक्तकलं लिङ्गलभस्तु अन्यथा । प्रसिद्धशब्दप्रकारविलक्षणत्वं शब्दव्यापारविषयत्वं च तस्यास्ति—इति नास्त्येवावयोर्विवादः ।—Dhvanyāloka, Chap. iii.

² Edited by Mr. S. M. Nawab.

³ Cf. पद्मावतीशोचम्—MSS. No. 27—Budreedass Temple Collection.—“त्रोपपन्नान्यै मन्त्राभिर्यै नमः”, etc.

that he was the disciple of Jinasena.¹ This Jinasena is further stated to have been a disciple of Kanakasena Gaṇi, a pupil of Ajitasena Gaṇi.² The chain of preceptor and disciple thus traced is to be compared with the concluding Praśasti of Śrī-Vardhamāna Tīrthakara Purāṇa, being a part of the Trīṣaṣṭi lakṣaṇa mahāpurāṇa-sangraha³ of Malliṣeṇa Sūri. In the concluding Praśasti to that work we get first the name of Ajitasena Sūri belonging to the Śrī Mūlasaṅgha.⁴ He was followed by his disciple Kanakasena who had a pupil in Jinasena Suri. In the next verse we get the name of one Narendra Sena who is called an younger (pupil) of the said Jinasena. Jinasena was followed by Malliṣeṇa, the author of the said Mahāpurāṇa. Although he has been called a 'tanuja' this term may be taken to mean a direct disciple, or if literally taken, a son at the same time. But the reader is referred to the verse 29 of the opening Praśasti.⁵ Thus it is clear that the two lists of succession from preceptor to pupil agree substantially, which makes Malliṣeṇa of the Padmāvati-kalpa identical with Malliṣeṇa of the Purāṇa.

It is also a significant fact about the author of the Purāṇa that he is called—'gāruḍa-mantra-vādasakalāgama lakṣaṇa-tarka-vedin'.⁶ The tenth and last chapter of the Bhairava-Padmāvaticālpa occupied itself with Garuḍa-Tantra.

Malliṣeṇa of the Purāṇa is called 'Ubhaya-bhāṣā-Kavicakravartin'.⁷ The Kalpa too, significantly enough, calls its author Malliṣeṇa, 'Ubhaya-bhāṣā-Kaviśekhara'.⁸ The two languages in which Malliṣeṇa was equally expert are Sanskrit and Prākṛit,⁹ and not Sanskrit and Kanarese as supposed by Prof. Hiralal.¹⁰

¹ Cf. तच्छिष्यो जिनसेनो बभूव भव्याजघर्माग्रः ॥ ५५ ॥

and तदौयशिष्योऽजनि मज्जिषेयः सरस्वतीसुखवरप्रसादः ॥ ५६ ॥

² भैरवपद्मावतीकल्प—x. 53-55.

³ Ind. Antiquary, xl, pp. 46ff.

⁴ Cf. त्रौदुलसंघेऽजितसेनसूरिः, etc.—*Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁵ Cf. तदेव पदमेव मयेव पुनरुच्यते ।

जिनसेनापशिष्येन मज्जिषेयेन सूरिणा ॥ १८ ॥ Cf. also, v. 77 of सरस्वतीमन्त्रकला of our author.

⁶ Verse 5—Ind. Ant., xl, p. 47.

⁷ I.A., xl, p. 49.

⁸ Cf. इत्युभयभाषाकविषेखरौमज्जिषेयसूरिविरचितो भैरवपद्मावतीकल्पः समाप्तः ॥

⁹ Cf. तेन महापुराणमुदितं भुवनवयवभिर्लोकैर्निना ।

प्राकृतसंस्कृतौभयकविलक्षणा कविचक्रवर्तिना ॥ ५ ॥

¹⁰ *Vide* p. xxii, Intr. to Nāyakumāra Carin of Puṣpadanta.

That our author Malliṣeṇa was a southerner is, however, quite probable. His work, the Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa, is commented on by a southerner, Vandhuṣeṇa, who gives in the course of his commentary certain Karnāṭa synonyms of the Sanskrit words in the text.¹ This clue to the fact of the author being a southerner is strengthened by the statement in the Mahāpurāṇa² that its author Malliṣeṇa wrote the work in the city called Mulagunḍa. This city of Mulagunḍa has been identified with the mod. vill. Mulgunḍ in the Gadag Tāluka of the Dharwar district.³

The verse that follows the above description is the one in the Mahāpurāṇa Praśasti, that contains the date of composition of the Purāṇa. Verse 7 of the text has it that the Purāṇa was composed in Śaka 969, i.e. in 1047 A.D. We think the date of the Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa should, therefore, be about the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D. Our author Malliṣeṇa is, however, to be distinguished from Mallibhūṣeṇa Bhaṭṭāraka who has been credited with the authorship of a Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa by Prof. Hiralal Jain.⁴ We think this Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa is none other than the work of Ubhaya-bhāṣā-Kaviśekhara Malliṣeṇa, and its date of composition falls in the second quarter of the eleventh century and not some time about Sam. 1510.⁵ It is interesting that a Malliṣeṇa has also been credited⁶ with the authorship of a Padmāvatīkalpa. To our mind this latter view is correct only with the emendation that the name of the work is Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa. The Nāgakumāracarita attributed to Malliṣeṇa, the author of the Bhairava-Padmāvatīkalpa, has certain features which really makes its author identical with the author of the Kalpa, as also the Purāṇa. Thus the line वल्ले नागकुमारस्य चरितं दुरितापहम् ॥ १ ॥ from the Nāgakumāracarita⁷ may be compared with “अनादि तत् समाप्तं त (तु) पुराणं दुरितापहम् जीयाद्.....” etc.⁸; and the line तन्मया पद्यबन्धेन मल्लिषेणेन रच्यते in the beginning of the Nāgakumāracarita with the line तदेव पद्यबन्धेन मयेह पुनरच्यते ॥ verse 29, in the Purāṇa attributed to Malliṣeṇa. We may also remark *passim* that the Sajjana-citta-vallava of one Malliṣeṇa is also the work of our author who wrote the Bhairava-

¹ Cf. Comm. on X, 25—भैरवपद्मावतीकल्प—“वनवसन्तारसपिहम्” अरण्योद्भव (३)पोद्कोरसेन रेचितं वनवल्गा इति कर्णाटभाषायां कासलि” ।

² Cf. तीर्थे जीमुकुन्दनाम्नि मनरे श्रीजैनधर्माक्षरे

खिला श्रीकविचक्रवर्तिनियतिपः श्रीमल्लिषेणाक्षयः । etc.—v. 6, p. 47, I.A., xl.

³ Fr. p. 48, I.A., xl.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Vide* Intr. to Nāy., p. xxii.

⁶ Intr. to Nāyakumāra Carin, p. xxii.

⁷ Jaina Hitaiṣi, Vol. VI, 5-6.

⁸ Cf. v. 8—I.A., xl, p. 48.

Padmāvatīkalpa and the Nāgākumāracharita and not of Mallibhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka¹ as supposed by Prof. Hiralal.

The composition of the Padmāvatīkalpa must have preceded that of the Purāṇa. The language of the Kalpa shows a diction and a style which is characteristic of an younger age. Secondly, the extensive knowledge of the intricacies of Gāruḍatantra as revealed in the tenth chapter of the Kalpa must have won for our author the compliment which he himself ventured to put before his own name in the concluding Praśasti of the Purāṇa written subsequently. The other work Sajjana-citta-vallabha of Malliṣeṇa, our author, must be a still earlier production. Had he been the recipient of such honours as of being called the best of poets in two languages (“उभयभाषा-कविचक्रवर्त्तिन्”) he must have used that epithet in that work also. But his silence proves that he was still not a far-famed poet.

One point, however, is clear from the above and may be noted in this connection most pertinently. That the text of the Kalpa belongs to the Digambara sect prevalent in Southern India is a conclusion which we can tentatively draw from a careful study of the facts available at our disposal, both internally in the text and externally. This makes one fact very significant from the point of view of Digambara-Jaina Iconography. The Goddess is four-handed and holds Aṅkuśa (elephant-goad), Varada pose, a noose and a celestial fruit.² This form thus has to be distinguished from another form of the four-handed Goddess in which she holds a goad, rosary and two lotuses.³ These two forms are, however, of the Digambara variety, the Svetambara variety of the Goddess has three forms of the four-handed Goddess herself. The one form in which she holds a lotus, a noose, a fruit and a goad was the one that was current in westernmost parts of India in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D.⁴ The other two forms have (1) lotus, Aṅkuśa (goad), Varada pose, and a noose; and (2) a celestial fruit, Aṅkuśa (goad), Varada pose and a noose. These latter two varieties were current simultaneously among the Svetambaras.⁵ A detailed discussion about the time and region of the prevalence of these different forms is, however, reserved for a separate paper.

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¹ Cf. v. 8—I.A., xl, p. 48.

² Cf. भैरवचक्रावलीकल्प—II, 12.

³ Cf. प्रतिष्ठासारचंद्र—quoted in Jaina Iconography, p. 144.

⁴ Cf. पार्श्वनाथचरित by जैनचन्द्र quoted, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Cf. चक्रवर्त्तिनाथलीकल्प of चन्द्र—IV, 53 and p. 13 in Nawab's edition.

THE HOME OF BHĀRAVI

No scholar is known to have discussed at length and critically the question of the exact home of Bhāravi. Bhāravi himself has nowhere in his own writings mentioned any royal court with which to connect him or referred to any places or historical events by which to determine his local environments and contemporaneity. So far as Sanskrit literature is concerned, the *Avantisundarikathā*, which is a work of doubtful authenticity, contains a tradition averring that the great poet Bhāravi was a native of Nasik and that King Viṣṇuvardhana of Kāncī was his royal patron. It will be seen that this tradition agrees so far with the conclusion arrived at in this paper from the internal data gathered from Bhāravi's own work *Kirātārjunīyam*, that it also connects Bhāravi's poetic career with the southern part of South India. The two inscriptions¹ in which we have incidental mention of Bhāravi are to be left out of account as having no bearing upon the point of issue.

There is a poetic tradition that the sun rises from the Udaya Mountain and sets behind the Asta Mountain. Bhāravi is aware of this tradition. In IX. 19 there is a reference to the rays of the rising moon obstructed by the mountain, i.e. the Udaya Mountain.² In XVIII. 47 there is a reference to the radiant sun rising from the Udaya Mountain.³ In IX. 7 an enquiry is made about the setting sun as to where it has gone and in that connection three alternatives are suggested, viz. it has entered either the forests on the Asta Mountain or the sea or the earth.⁴ The above-quoted instances prove his knowledge of the tradition. In spite of this he always describes the sun setting into the waters of the sea.⁵ In IX. 23 it

¹ Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II and one of the Gaṅgā Inscriptions.

² नीलनीरजनिभे क्षिमगौरं शैलवद्वपुषः सितरश्मेः ।

खे रराज निपतत्करजासुं वारिधेः पयसि गाङ्गमिवाश्रमः ॥ IX. 19.

³ असंख्यार्थोत्साहं जयिनमुदयं प्राप्य तरसा

धुरं गुर्वीं वोढुं क्षितमनवसादाय जगतः ।

स्रधास्त्रा लोकानां तनुपरि क्षतस्त्रानिममरा-

स्रपोलस्त्रा दीप्तं दिनक्षतमिवोच्चैरपजगुः ॥ XVIII. 47.

⁴ अपसानुषु निताम्नापिग्रहैर्भूवशाद्भुङ्करैरवलम्ब्य ।

अस्रश्रेष्ठगहनं नु विवस्त्रानाविशेज जलधिं नु मर्दो नु ॥ IX. 7.

⁵ विक्षिप्तमयनियोगादौप्तिचंचारजिह्वं

शिशिलवस्तुमगाधे मग्नमापत्ययोधो ।

रिपुतिभिरमुदस्योदीयमानं दिनादौ

दिनक्षतमिव लक्ष्मीक्ष्णं वनश्वेतु भूयः ॥ I. 46.

is expressly stated that the moon rises from the eastern sea.¹ We know that when the sun or the moon rises from the sea, just before the severance of its connection from the sea, it takes the shape of a jar and just at the moment of severance it seems that that jar is suddenly forcibly thrown upwards from below and its connection with the sea is severed. In IX. 32 it is said that the moon like a silvery jar is thrown upwards by night for the sake of the ablution of Cupid.² It shows that he has noticed the sight of the moon rising from the sea. From XVII. 39 we learn he knows both the eastern and the western seas.³ His reference to four seas in II. 23 is traditional and is only for a comparison.⁴ It is evident from the above that he is a native of the southernmost part of India where both the seas can be seen.

In XVIII. 5 we find the waves of the sea striking against the Sahya Mountain.⁵ In XIV. 1 Bhāravi has marked the waves of the sea dashing against hills.⁶ His mention of the Sahya Mountain is rather misleading, for nowhere the sea really strikes against it. On the western side of India to which Sahya Mountain belongs, in Travancore 'along the coast are white sand dunes and areas of red sand or *teri*. These last stand high, though close to the coast, and are a well-known landmark for mariners. Westward of Cape Comorin are a few fringing reefs of dead coral' (vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, Travancore State, p. 4). Also here 'from the main range of the ghats rocky spurs run out towards the west, in some cases to within a short distance of the sea' (vide the same, p. 3). Now on the western coast of India these are the hills against which the waves of the sea can dash and they are all in Travancore or near it.

¹ दीपयज्ञश्च नभः किरणौघैः कुङ्कुमावपयोधरंगोरः ।

चेमकुम्भ इव पूर्वपयोधेरन्ममञ्ज शनकैस्तुङ्गिनांशुः ॥ IX. 23.

² संविधातुमभिवेकमुदावे मन्मथस्य लसदशुजलौघः ।

यामिनीवमितया ततश्चिह्नः सौम्यलो रजतकुम्भ इवेन्दुः ॥ IX. 32

³ बभार शून्याकृतिरर्जुनलौ महेषुधौ वीतमहेषुजलौ ।

युगामसंश्लिख्यलौ विजिह्वः पूर्वापरौ लोक इवाम्बुराशौ ॥ XVII. 39.

⁴ द्विरदानीव दिग्भवितांश्चतुरश्लोयनिधौ निवायतः ।

प्रसङ्गेत रचे तवामुजाम्निघतां कः शतमन्युवेजसः ॥ II. 23.

⁵ उरधि शूलभूतः प्रविता मुञ्जः प्रतिवृत्तिं ययुर्जुनमुदयः ।

भ्रमरया इव सञ्जमसौभूतः द्युनि रोधसि सिन्धुमसौर्मयः ॥ XVIII. 5.

⁶ ततः किरातस्य वसोभिरवतैः परावतः श्रेष्ठ इवार्धवाम्बुभिः ।

जलौ न धैर्ये कुपितोऽपि पाञ्चवः सुबुधैरान्तरा वि पाञ्चवः ॥ XIV. 1.

In XIII. 70 the Kirata king, surrounded by the soldiers armed with sharp weapons and not doing any harm to Arjuna because of decorum, is compared to the wavy sea checked by some embankment.¹ We know that a comparison is made of a less known thing to a more known thing to make the former clearer. So the sight of the waves of the sea stopped by some embankment is familiar to Bhāravi. Where is this embankment? Is it a reference to the Great Dam on the west side of the Pamban Pass consisting of large masses of sandstone, all having a more or less flat surface which are said to have once formed part of the causeway extending across the mainland? Or is it a reference to the famous sand bar of Travancore which separates the lagoons or the back-waters from the sea? Whatever it may be, these are the only embankments on the coast of India which can stop the wavy sea.

In II. 40 it is said that the sea previously beaten by Bhīma through calmness has now become superior to him who has shown an untimely outburst of mind.² This shows that Bhāravi knows a calm sea. Where is this sea? The seas of India are full of waves. Only in Travancore 'a phenomenon which has given rise to no small discussion is the remarkable mud-bank lying in the sea 6 miles south of Alleppey. This is about 4 miles long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide and is affected by tidal action. It operates in a remarkable way to prevent the formation of waves; the soft oily mud mingles with the sea-water when the heavy ocean waves touch the bank, and so smother their crests that the water inside the bank is quite smooth and forms an admirable anchorage' (vide I.G.I., 1908, Travancore, p. 4). Has Bhāravi referred to this portion of the sea?

In XV. 32 there is a reference to the other side of the sea.³ We rarely see the other side of the sea and if there is the other side that other side must be an island in the sea which can be seen with naked eyes. This island may be Pamban Island on the south-east coast, separated from the mainland by the narrow Pamban Pass 1,350 yards in width, or the coral girt Hare Island situated $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Tuticorin, or Vypeen Island on the west coast, $14\frac{3}{4}$ miles in length bounded on the west by the Arabian Sea and cut off from

¹ दृष्टतामयमनोकङ्कान्तरे तिग्मचेतिश्रुताभिरन्वितः ।

सञ्चिबोधिखिरिब सिन्धुवदतो भूपतिः समयसेतुवारितः ॥ XIII. 70

² किमसामयिकं वितम्बता मनसः क्षोभमुपात्तरंजसः ।

क्रियते पतिवषट्कैरपां भवता धीरतयाधरीकृतः ॥ II. 40.

³ लक्ष्मणसुखी मयोर्वर्तमाना दुवन्तरे ।

प्राप्य पारमिनेमानमावन्नाह पुनाकिनी ॥ XV. 32.

the land on the north, south and east by the mouths of the Cram-ganore and Cochin rivers and the back-water, or the island known as Sacrifice Rock situated about 8 miles out at sea, to the north of Quilandi in Malabar (vide Madras Presidency—Prov. Geog. of India Series, pp. 32-36).

From a study of the *Kirātārjunīyam* it is clear that the poet is very fond of the sea¹ and the elephant.² Whenever he finds an opportunity he refers to them or draws similes from them. In XV. 17, XVII. 22 and VIII. 43 there are references to the lake.³ In his description of forests he almost always refers to the sandalwood trees. In VIII. 12 table-lands abounding in the vegetation of sandalwood tree are described.⁴ Now all these things, viz. the sea, the elephant, the lake and the sandalwood tree, can be found together only in Travancore, the lake being the famous back-waters or lagoons extending along the coast from the northernmost frontier of Travancore to Trivandrum.

The use of the word *Gopura* in the sense of a palace-gate or a city-gate proves the South Indian origin of *Bhāravi*,⁵ only because this word in this sense is prevalent only in the south.

His description of autumn or *Śarad* season of the place between *Dvaita* forest (somewhere in the Punjab or the western U.P.) and the Himalayas does not tally with the geographical peculiarities of that place, because according to him in *Śarad* there is water in the fields of *Kalama* or rice⁶ and *śāli* or rice ripens as the water in

¹ II. 23, III. 60, IX. 19, XI. 40, XII. 7, etc.

² I. 16, II. 6, III. 38, VII. 8, etc.

³ (a) लोभेन तेनाथ गणाधिपानां भेदं यथावाक्यतिरौचरस्य ।

तरङ्गकम्येन मञ्चाद्भुतानां ज्ञायामयस्येव दिनस्य भर्तुः ॥ XVII. 22.

(b) भवद्विरधुनारातिपरिहापितपौरुषैः ।

श्रद्धैरिवार्कनिष्पीतैः प्राग्गः पङ्क्तौ दुश्चरः ॥ XV. 17.

(c) श्रद्धाभसि व्यसवधूकरावते रवं मृदङ्गध्वनिधोरमुज्जति ।

मुञ्जः सन्निस्तालसमं समाददे मनोरमं नृत्यमिव प्रवेपितम् ॥ VIII. 43.

⁴ उपेयुषीणां दृष्टतौरधित्यका मनांसि जङ्घुः सुरराजयोधिताम् ।

कपोलकायैः करिणां मदावसैवपाक्षितश्चासवचसं चन्दनाः ॥ VIII. 12.

⁵ (a) दधनमुच्यन्निष्ठान्तरगोपुराः पुर एवोदितपुष्पवना भुवः । V. 5.

(b) अथन यस्मिन् पुरमुच्यगोपुरं पुरां विजेतुर्धृतये धनाधिपः । V. 35.

(c) सुराङ्गना गोपतिष्ठापगोपुरं पुरं वनानां विजिहीर्षया जङ्घः । VIII. 1.

⁶ नृतोष पश्यन् कलमस्य सोऽधिकं सवारिजे वारिणि रामबीवकम् ।

सुदुर्लभे नार्हति कोऽभिनन्दितं प्रकर्षलक्ष्मीमनुकपसङ्गमे ॥ IV. 4.

the field dries up.¹ But this description well applies to Travancore. His description of other seasons also well suits the actual conditions in Travancore.

In XII. 51 it is related that the beasts of Mount Indrakīla being frightened by the attendants of Śiva rushed to the lakes on that hill and make the water agitated.² Which are these panic-stricken beasts? In the two preceding verses Mahiṣas (bison) and elephants are mentioned and it is strange that Mahiṣa is mentioned only here and nowhere else in the Kirātārjunīyam. Hence it is expected that Bhāravi knows some lakes in some hills haunted by elephants, Mahiṣas (bisons), etc. As a matter of fact in Travancore 'the Periyar Lake, the Sportsman's Paradise situated in the Pariyar hills, is the haunt of wild elephant, bison, deer, tiger, etc.' (vide South India Article on Travancore—published by the Central Publicity Officer, Indian State Railways, Delhi).

In IV. 33 it is said that in Śarad when the crops are ripening the deer are so absorbed in listening to the songs of Gopī (milk-women or protectresses of paddy fields) that they forget to approach the crops.³ In Śarad Bhāravi must have observed the sight of women singing outdoors in fields so that they may be heard by the deer. But it is no common sight in India. Only in Malabar ballads 'in popular tunes are sung by the people at large in chorus and are commonly heard in fields at the beginning and end of the harvest season' (vide Ballads of Malabar by Dr. C. Achyuta Menon in summaries of papers submitted to the 12th session of the All-India Oriental Conference). This shows his acquaintance with Malabar.

From the above observations it is extremely clear that Bhāravi belongs to that region of India where the sea is seen on the western side and at some part of which the sea is seen also on the eastern side. According to the description some hills are so near the coast that the waves of the sea may strike against them and the place

1 असावनास्त्रापरयावधोरितः सरोरुहिण्या शिरसा नमन्नपि ।

उपैति शुष्यन् कलमः सञ्जातमसा मनोभुषा तप्त दवाभिपाण्डताम् ॥ IV. 34.

2 (a) मथिताश्वसो रयविकीर्णमृदितकदलीगवेधकाः ।

क्लान्तजलरुच्यताः सरसीर्विदधे निदाघ इव सञ्जसंभवः ॥ XII. 51.

(b) मञ्जिष्यतागुर्धतमाक्षनक्षदसुरभिः सदागतिः । XII. 50

(c) पङ्कविषमिततटाः सरितः करिग्रचन्दनरसाद्यं पयः । XII. 49.

3 कृतावधानं जितवर्षिषध्नौ सुरक्तगीपीजनगीतनिःस्वने ।

इदं जिघत्सामपचाय भूयसीं न सख्यमभ्येति मृगौकदम्बकम् ॥ IV. 33.

REVIEWS

THE RUINS OF DABHOI OR DARBHAVATĪ IN BARODA STATE by Jñānaratna Dr. Hirananda Śāstri. Gaekwad's Archaeological Series, Memoir No. III, Baroda State Press, 1940.

This memoir may justly be regarded as a revised and enlarged edition of an earlier publication entitled 'The Antiquities of Dabhoi in Gujarat' by the late Dr. J. Burgess and Mr. M. Cousens of the Archaeological Survey of India. The interest of the new materials added lies in the fact that they have helped the author to 'establish the date of the monuments with certainty'. The identification of the names of the architects settling their age is a creditable performance. The main purpose of the memoir, however, is to furnish the visitors from all parts of India to the monuments at Dabhoi with a reliable and handy guide-book. Besides the references to Dabhoi in literature and in inscriptions and the text and translation of the Someśvara *praśasti*, the Marathi inscription and the inscription near Ganje Shahid, the memoir contains an useful structural description of the Hira, Mahuḍi, and Nānod Gates, the Kālikā-mātā and Vaidyanātha temples. The sculptures on these monuments are fully described, and the excellent illustrations have enriched the publication. The Māmā Dokri's Stone with a boy trying to crawl through the hole is but 'a stone ring used for ordeals in deciding suspected persons' guilt or innocence by subjecting them to the physical test of passing through it'. The readers interested in the critical study of the antiquities of Dabhoi will surely find this book useful and instructive.

B. M. BARUA.

JĀTAKA PĀLI, Part I, Nipātas 1-10, by Nārada Thera. Vajirārāma Tipiṭaka Edition, Vol. I, Royal 8vo, 1944

This handy but critical edition of the Jātaka Pāli is a creditable work on the part of the Venerable Thera of the Vajirārāma Vihāra of Ceylon. Here an attempt has been made for the first time to separate the Canonical text of the Jātakas from the Commentary in which it remained so far embedded. The author has proceeded apparently to prepare the edition on the assumption that the Jātakas in the Canonical text were entirely composed of verses which, however, is still debatable and doubtful. There are a few Jātakas, e.g., the Valāhassa, that are conspicuous by the absence of any verse in them. The first four Nikāyas contain a few Suttanta Jātakas that consist mostly of prose like the Jātakas in the extant Commentary version. It should also be borne in mind that the Abhisambuddha *gāthās* were obviously later additions. To be on the safe-side the author ought to have stated in the Preface that by the Jātaka Pāli he means no more than the verses contained and explained in the Commentary. The verses without *vyākaraṇas* or glosses are in many places unintelligible. The author may be requested to include them in a separate part. On the whole, the author has removed a long-felt want by the publication of this valuable and useful work.

B. M. BARUA.

RIVERS OF INDIA AND MOUNTAINS OF INDIA by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S.B., F.B.B.R.A.S. (Historico-Geographical Studies), published by the Calcutta Geographical Society (1944). Publication Nos. 5 and 6.

The above two volumes are publications of the Calcutta Geographical Society. Their author, Dr. Law, needs no introduction to scholars interested in the field of Indology.

India is a land of rivers that have nursed ancient cultures, and mountains of awe-inspiring grandeur, and they add to her historical stature. Strangely enough, we are apt to accept their modern names and functions without an inquisitiveness into their past. Dr. Law has thrown his vast erudition into the scale and has been able to locate almost all the important rivers and mountains in Rig Veda, Puranas, the Mahabharata, historical writings of the Greek and Chinese scholars, to name

only a few among the sources mentioned by the author. He has delved deep into both Hindu and Buddhist scriptures to discover that most of the topographic elements are as old as Indian history itself.

In the volume on Rivers of India, Dr. Law has carefully classified the rivers of India before explaining their main characteristics. Since the rivers of Northern India are more important than those of south India, Dr. Law has devoted more pages to the former than to the latter. The perennial nature of north Indian rivers has given rise to cheap hydro-electricity, a fact of very great consequence on the industrial development of India, particularly in regions deficient in coal and hence the justification of devoting more pages to the north Indian rivers.

Not only does the hydrology of a country form the basic study of any region but helps the development of trade and commerce in any country. An intimate knowledge of the rivers of India and a treatise on that subject was an urgent necessity to the Indian scholars which has been largely fulfilled by the author. We offer him our congratulations for the fulfilment of the long-felt want.

In the volume designated 'Mountains of India' the author has rightly stressed that 'from the tectonic point of view the geographers of ancient India were justified in including the mountains on the north-west, Sulaiman and Kirthar, and the mountains on the north-east—the Naga, etc., under the Himalayan system, as it has now been definitely proved that these mountains, which are known by different names today, were integral parts of the same sediments which got uplifted during the Himalayan Orogenies, and subsequently separated from each other by erosion'. Such historical studies, moreover, indicate that the christening of the great mountains like the Himalaya, Mekhala, etc., are linked up with one of their most significant features.

The works are not so much essays on the problems of rivers and mountains but rather historical sketches of them. Thus, they are limited in their objectivity. A nation must learn about its past in order to mould its future. To re-discover its past tantamounts to a realization of its soul. Historical geographers will certainly find these two works as valuable guides.

S. P. CHATTERJEE

THE BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND OTHER ESSAYS by U. N. Ghoshal (Calcutta, 1944). Pages xvi + 320. Price Rs 8 or 16 shillings.

Professor U. N. Ghoshal's eminence in the region of indological studies has been well recognized for many years now by all students of Indian history and culture. They would welcome the present publication in which Dr. Ghoshal collects his interesting and scholarly discussions of various difficult problems contributed to learned periodicals from time to time, and adds to the collection a few essays published here for the first time, particularly bearing on Vedic historical tradition, Vedic assemblies and the constitutional significance of coronation ceremonies. Much of the contents of the volume is necessarily polemical, but Dr. Ghoshal's wide scholarship, scrupulous fairness in controversy and sound critical judgement are apparent on almost every page of this collection which will take a secure place by the side of his other works. The choice of the topics for discussion which range from revenue terms to Śākta art, and the suggestive lines of enquiry opened up in these essays, are highly commendable; there is also a remarkable freedom from dogmatism, and nowhere does Dr. Ghoshal appear to claim that his is the last word on a matter. Readers may differ from Dr. Ghoshal's views on particular subjects, for instance, the present writer has some difficulty in following the interpretations offered by some texts relating to royal ownership of the soil in Essay VI; but these differences in no way detract from the merit of Dr. Ghoshal's stimulating essays and they will be read with profit by all serious students of Indian history.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

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